

# The Classical Review

FEBRUARY 1893.

## ON THE *πρόκλησις εἰς βάσανον* IN ATTIC LAW.

THE anomalies and absurdities which are to be found in the legal systems of most countries can generally be explained by the fact that they are relics of a time of comparative barbarism. The procedure in the Attic courts affords a good instance of this. No custom in antiquity has excited such natural surprise and contempt as the principle that the evidence of slaves could only be given under torture; this surprise is enhanced when we find that at Athens evidence so given is always spoken of as being the only absolutely certain way of discovering the truth about a disputed fact. Again and again the Orators insist on the fact that while evidence of freemen is often false or misleading, that of slaves under torture is final and unimpeachable. The fact is too well known to require illustration. For it the strongest words in the language are always used. *ἔνν ξελέγχθης ψευδόμενος* says Aesch. (ii. 126) referring to a proposed appeal to the *βάσανος*. It was a common-place of oratory that the *βάσανος* always elicited the truth (Isaeus viii. 12, Dem. xxx. 35, etc.).

Now of course this is all rhetoric and the Orators were not serious in it; there must however have been some reason for the exaggerated importance so often attributed to this kind of testimony. This language is generally used of torture which follows a *πρόκλησις* or challenge. In cases where a slave was himself charged with a crime he was liable to be tortured so as to extort confession either by his own master or by the public authorities (Antiphon, *Herodes* 30 etc., Dem.

xlviii. 16, Lysias 1, 16): when this was done, as appears from the passage in Antiphon, the statements of the torturers as to what the slave had said might be used as evidence in the trial of others. Torture used in this way to extort confession requires no comment: it is a barbarous custom which has prevailed in all countries. The superior humanity of the Athenians is shown by the fact that freemen were exempted from it.

The *πρόκλησις εἰς βάσανον* is very different. It could only be used in a suit between two private individuals; it might be a public suit, but where the accuser is the state or the public officials there *πρόκλησις* was not available. If however in the course of the preliminary examination before the Archon or an Arbitrator it appeared that the suit really turned on a disputed point of fact, either party could challenge the other to let the crime be decided by the statement as to this fact made by slaves while under torture. The slaves so tortured would always be such as had knowledge of the fact at issue. If the challenge was not accepted the challenger took care to bring witnesses to prove the fact of the challenge, in order to excite a prejudice against his opponent in the minds of the jury.

The important question is: What happened if the challenge was accepted? The answer is very difficult because of the extraordinary fact that in all the speeches of the Orators not a single case is recorded in which the torture really came off. In the few cases where the challenge was accepted some dis-

pute always prevented the question being really put. This, as I shall show directly, is not accidental. The assumption made, I believe, by all writers on the subject is that, if the challenge was accepted and the slave was tortured, then, at least in most cases, his statements were collected by the parties present, deposed to by witnesses and put among the other documents to be read out in the trial. If this was the case, then the statements of slaves would really be evidence of the same kind as that of free-men, though acquired in a different way. I think however that an examination of the passages shows that this was not the case. The appeal to the Question was not a means of collecting evidence for a jury; it was an alternative method of trial; it was a kind of *ordeal*. The Question only took place if both parties agreed to accept the statement of the slave on the particular fact as a verdict on the whole case, from which there was no appeal. This is the reason why we have not a single case where the evidence extorted from a slave is produced in a trial: had the torture taken place there was no trial. It also explains why it is always assumed that the torture produces the absolute truth; it is comparable not to the statements of witnesses but to the verdict of a jury; it was etiquette to assume that both were infallible.

That procedure by Question was an alternative to procedure before a jury is definitely stated in some passages, and there is much constructive evidence. Isocrates (xvii. 55) says, referring to the refusal to accept a challenge: ὑπέμενε καὶ δίκας φεύγειν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας αἰτίας ἔχειν, οὐτε μηδεμίαν βάσανον περὶ τοῦ πράγματος τούτου γενέθαι. 'He endured to have an action brought against him and to bear the other accusations, so as to avoid having the test by torture about the matter.' This certainly implies that *βάσανος* and *δίκας φεύγειν* are alternatives. So in Lycurgus *Leocr.* 32 we have the contrast between *βάσανος* and the *δικασταί*: Leocrates has refused to have a *βάσανος*, Lycurgus anticipates that he will complain that he has to contend with a skilful orator. How inconsistent would that be; he has himself chosen to have recourse to the jury who are easily persuaded, instead of trusting to the *βάσανος* which tells the whole truth. In [Demosthenes] xlvi. 39 we find the following clear statement: ἐξὸν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀπηλλάχθαι πράγματον καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν εἰσιόντας εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἦργῳ βεβαιωσάντας ὡς ἀληθῆς ἔστιν ἡ μαρτυρία, οὐκ ἡθέλοντας παραδοῦνα τὴν ἄνθρωπον.

They would have avoided the whole trouble and risk of a trial by accepting the challenge to a *βάσανος*: this would be nonsense were the *βάσανος* only to procure evidence to be produced in court. If the *πρόκλησις* was to be a final verdict it was necessary to agree before what should be the penalties that either party was to pay in case he were defeated. This is we find done in several instances, e.g. Antiphon *Tetr.* A. 8, 8. The speaker who is accused of murder attempts to establish an *alibi*, and offers to let the whole result of the trial depend on the statement of a slave under torture as to this one point: ἐὰν μὴ φανῶ ταῦτη τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν οἴκῳ καθεύδων ἢ ἐξελθών ποι., ὅμολογὴ φονεὺς εἶναι. In Dem. xxxvii. 45 we are told the contents of a *πρόκλησις*; the plaintiff in the case, which is one arising out of disputes about a mine, challenges the defendant. ἀναγνώσκει μοι πρόκλησιν μακράν, ἀξῶν, ὃν φησιν οἰκέτην ταῦτα συνειδέναι, βασανίζεσθαι, καν μὲν ἢ ταῦτη ἀληθῆ, τὴν δίκην ἀτίμωτον ὄφειν αὐτῷ, ἐὰν δε ψευδῆ, τὸν βασανιστὴν Μητσοτάκην ἐπιγνώμον' εἶναι τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ παιδός. Sureties (*έγγυται*) are offered, the challenge is accepted, but breaks down at the last moment owing to a dispute about the arrangements. It is quite clear that if this dispute had not occurred the suit would not have been brought before a jury. This is shown by a sentence which follows; the defendant continues: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προσκαλέται μέν με τὴν δίκην πάλιν, ἐπειδὴ θάττον ἀνελεῖτο τὸ παρακαβολάς οὕτως εἰθὺς ἢ δῆλος οὐδὲ αἰτὸς ὥρισαί ἐμπέρων δικαίοις. The challenge having been accepted put an end to the lawsuit, the plaintiff therefore takes back the court fees which he had deposited; then immediately afterwards he summons the defendant again to a fresh action, the old action having been altogether dropped.

In [Demosthenes] in *Neaeram*, lix. 121 the speaker is very explicit. Referring to an argument going to be put forward by the defendant he says he established a *πρόκλησις* on it; if he himself lost he would give up the action: καὶ ἐὰν φάνηται ἐκ τῆς βασάνου γήμας Στέφανος οὕτως ἀστήν γυναικα καὶ ὅπες αὐτῷ οἱ παῖδες οὗτοι ἐξ ἑτέρας γυναικὸς ἀστῆς καὶ μὴ Νεαίρας, ηθελον ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ ἀγῶνος καὶ μὴ εἰσέναι τὴν γραφήν ταῦτη.

Lysias vii. 34 etc. is one of the passages brought by Lipsius<sup>1</sup> to show that sometimes at least the *πρόκλησις* was not final but preparatory to the action before the jury, because the evidence of the slaves was only part of the proof. The words of the orator

<sup>1</sup> *Der Attische Process*, Meier und Schömann, bearbeitet von Lipsius, p. 893 n. 356.

show however that it is not so; the defendant who had made the challenge distinctly says that, had it been accepted and he had lost, he would not have been able to defend himself, περὶ ἡμῶν μὲν γὰρ εἰ ἥλεγχον, οὐδὲ ἀπολογήσασθαι μοι ἔξεγένετο: if the result of the Question had been favourable to him, it would, he implies, decide the suit against the accuser, τούτῳ δὲ εἰ μὴ ὄμολόγουν ἢ οὗτος ἰθούλετο οἰδημάτι ζημίᾳ ἐνοχος ἦν (37). We are not told the exact question which would have been put to the slaves; it would doubtless have been so expressed that to answer it would have been an answer to the question whether the accused were guilty or not.

There is a passage in the *De falsa Legatione* of Aeschines, which, though it is very exaggerated, is a useful confirmation of this principle. He is describing the events which took place during the embassy; his account is different from that of Demosthenes, and he offers to prove his account by the torture and to stake the whole result of the trial on the torture as to this one fact: ἄγωμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ παραδιδῶμεν εἰς βάσανον· καὶ τὸν μὲν λόγον, εἰ συγχωρησούσθαι κατηγόρος, καταλύων παρέσται δὲ ἥδη ὁ δῆμος καὶ βασανεῖ ἐναντίον ἡμῶν, ἀν κελεύθητε. ἐνδέχεται δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας ταῦτα πρᾶξαι πρὸς ἔνδεκα γὰρ ἀμφορέας ἐν διαιμετρημένῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γάρ ἀμφορέας ἐν διαιμετρημένῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κρίνομαι. καν̄ φῶσιν ἀπόκοιτόν με τοιτοῦ πάποτε τῶν συσσίτων γεγονέναι, μὴ φεύγοσθε μον, ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἀλλ' ἀναστάτωτες ἀποκτείνατε. ἐὰν δὲ ἔξελεγχθῆσθαι φεύδομενος, Δημόσθενες, τουατήρ δίκην δόσ· ὄμολόγησσον ἀνδρόγυνος εἶναι καὶ μὴ διενθέρεος ἐναντίον τούτων. This is of course all bravado. A πρόκλησι could not be made at this stage, and Aeschines knows that; but he keeps the form of the legitimate challenge, agreeing that if the defendant loses he shall be considered guilty and pay a fixed penalty, and if the accuser is defeated he shall also pay some penalty. The λόγοι, the proceedings before the court, are to be given up and the βάσανος substituted for them.

Even in those cases where it is not distinctly said that the βάσανος is to give a final verdict we find that as a matter of fact the question to be put to the slave is always to that point on which the whole suit hangs. The distinction from the μαρτυρία is very marked, e.g. in the speech of Lycurgus already quoted μάρτυρες are presumed to prove each act in a long chain of circumstances; the πρόκλησι is to question the slaves ἵπερ ἀπάντων τοιτοῦ, i.e. on the whole case. So in Dem. xxix. 11, a speech by the defendant in a case of perjury, the orator

brings witnesses to prove all kinds of statements which are circumstantial evidence: but he challenges his opponent to produce a slave who will give his statement on the actual fact on which the whole case depends. In Dem. *Onetor* A. xxx. 35 the slaves are to be questioned as to the fact whether a wife continued to live with her husband; as the whole suit depends on the question whether a pretended separation had been *bona fide* or not, this is the cardinal fact. Dem. xlix. 55 is brought by Meier with other passages<sup>1</sup> to prove that the πρόκλησι was sometimes used to establish one point in a chain of evidence. It does not however do so. The plaintiff sues for debt: there are four distinct and separate counts; the challenge which he offers is to be final proof on one of these counts. If it had been accepted the case would have come into court, but there would have been only three claims to adjudicate upon, not four. It is true that the speaker says that he would have used this had he been successful in court (τεκυριώ τούτῳ καταχρήσασθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἔώ και τὰλλα φεύδομαι περὶ ὃν ἐγκαλῶ αὐτῷ), but what he means by this is that if the defendant cleared himself of the one count by the βάσανος he would be able to refer to that when he defended himself on the other counts in court and use it to establish a presumption in his favour.

There is one passage which has wrongly led to the belief that statements made in a πρόκλησι were of the nature of evidence. In Dem. liii. 24 the speaker who has refused a πρόκλησι explains his reasons and says: ἡγούμην τε δεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἡ τοὺς ἡρημένους ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς γράφεσθαι, καὶ κατασημηνάμενος τὰς βασάνους, ὃ τι εἴποιεν οἱ ἀνθρώποι, παρέχειν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ὃν ἀκούσατες ἐκ τούτων ἐψήφισασθε ὅποιον τι ἴμιν ἐδόκει. This is explained as though it referred to procedure under a πρόκλησι. It does not: it is the procedure adopted in a public suit where the state itself is one of the parties. The speaker says 'If it had been a private suit I should have accepted the challenge; I could not do so, because I was claiming the slaves for the state (εἰ μὲν ἴδιαν δίκην ἐδικάζομητο αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἕμοὶ ἔξεδόσσαν παρελάμβανον ἀν, νῦν δὲ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τάνδραποδὰ καὶ ἡ ἀπογραφή δεῖν οὖν δημοσίᾳ βασανίζεσθαι). If the evidence of the slaves is wanted, the proper course would be to allow public officials to take over the suit (*γράφεσθαι*): they would then be able to torture the slaves as much as they liked, though not in

<sup>1</sup> The others are Lysias vii. 34, Dem. xxx. 35, liii. 22.

the way of *πρόκλησις*, and bring their evidence into court.

I think then that it may be accepted that whenever recourse was had to a *πρόκλησις εἰς βάσανον* this was an absolute bar to all further proceedings and prevented the case coming before a jury. This is supported by what we know of the analogous *πρόκλησις εἰς ὄρκον*. Either party might either offer himself to take a solemn oath or ask his opponent to do so; the oath would be to the truth of the essential facts on which the pleadings were based: if both parties agreed to have the matter decided in this way, then this was a final decision. Dem. xxix. 52 *ἀν ἀπομόσησε τάνατον τούτων καὶ τῆς θυγατρός, διφημίη σοι πάντα κ.τ.λ.*, lxx. 65 *ἡξεν οὐτος και αὐτὸς ὁμόσας ἀπηλλάχθαι.* So *ib.* xxix. 3, 4, after it has been agreed to accept it, the oath of a mother as to the parentage of her child is final proof which cannot be disputed. This form of oath is quite distinct from the oath required of suitors and witnesses. These are required to swear to the truth of their statements: if they do not, of course the statement loses all validity; but if they do, it has no further effect than to legitimate their statements as evidence: the oath which is taken by agreement on the other hand contains the final verdict. As I hope elsewhere to point out, the same distinction is found in the Gortynian Code; the oath of purgation is known at Rome; there too it ends the case; it is very common in early Teutonic law.

There were other forms of *πρόκλησις* at Athens. Pollux viii. 62 states of all of them what I have attempted to show is true of the *πρόκλησις εἰς ὄρκον* and *εἰς βάσανον*. His words are very important: *πρόκλησις δ' ἔστι λύσις τῆς δίκης ἐπὶ των ὠρισμένων ὄρκων η μαρτυρία η βασάνων η ἀλλω των τοιούτων.* The general principle is here clearly and lucidly laid down. Hudtwalcker objects that this definition is too narrow<sup>1</sup>: 'Denn *πρόκλησις* ist vielmehr, wenn man sie richtig beschreiben will, eine feierliche Aufforderung, entweder zu einer Leistung, auf welche der Provocant ein Recht zu haben glaubte, oder zu einer Handlung, durch welche ein streitiger Punkt erledigt werden sollte, diese sei nun ein gemeinschaftlich oder durch eine von beiden Parteien allein vorzunehmender Act, und bezwecke bloss den Beweis in einen Rechtsstreit oder die gänzliche Beendigung eines solchen.' This is correct, but it does not affect the main point that there was a

<sup>1</sup> *Über die Diäteten in Athen*, p. 45.

whole class of *προκλήσεις* which acted as a final solution of a legal dispute and that among them were the *πρόκλησις εἰς ὄρκον* and *εἰς βάσανον*. As to the *πρόκλησις εἰς μαρτυρίαν*, Hudtwalcker himself gives the best definition of it; it was 'nicht eine Aufforderung an den Zeugen, dass er ein Zeugniß ablegen solle, sondern an den Gegner im Processe, die Entscheidung der Sache von dem Zeugniß eines Dritten abhängen zu lassen.' Antiphon *Choreutes* 23, which he refers to, is perhaps an instance of this. Under the words *ἄλλω των τοιούτων* is to be understood a procedure like that in Dem. *Onetor* i. (xxx.) 1, a challenge to allow the whole case to be tried by way of arbitration among friends, or as in Dem. (xxxvii.) 12 to conclude the suit by a compromise.<sup>2</sup>

There were then at Athens several ways in which a decision could be obtained on a dispute. The two parties could agree to refer the matter to the decision of an arbitrator, or to compromise it; if this was not done, it was still possible to avoid the trouble and anxiety of a trial in the public courts; if after the initial proceedings before the archon or the public arbitrators it appeared that the matter in dispute really turned upon some disputed fact, so that a decision on this fact could reasonably be held to convey a verdict on the whole case, then the parties could agree to let the whole matter be decided by the decision on this single fact and make an agreement how the decision on this should be obtained. The methods adopted were these: (1) to agree that the statement of a single man should be considered final: of this we have no satisfactory instance, it is doubtful how far it really was recognized as a proper way of obtaining such a decision; (2) that the matter should be decided on the answer given to certain questions by a slave under torture; (3) by the oath of one of the parties or some one closely connected with them. If an agreement of this kind was made, either party promised with sureties to accept the result of the ordeal as a final verdict, and if he was defeated to pay such a penalty as might have been agreed upon before. It was only when no such agreement had been made that the case was brought before a jury.

In the period of which we have knowledge this alternative procedure was very

<sup>2</sup> In Dem. xlvi. 15 the orator confuses two kinds of *πρόκλησις*: (1) the challenge to produce documents; (2) the challenge to allow the case to be decided outside the court.

rarely used. If we are to judge by the customs of other races it must in early times have been the common form of procedure. It is only in an advanced state of society that it is common or possible to find out the truth about a disputed fact by the examination of witnesses. Witnesses in early times are used only for the proof of formal actions, to which they have been summoned beforehand that they may act as witnesses. The capacity of acting as a witness belongs only to citizens of full age : this rule is maintained at Athens even in the fourth century. If a question of fact is to be decided in a court, whether by one judge or a numerous body, it will be found in all early systems of law that it will be decided partly by the previous knowledge of the judge or jury and partly by the effect made by the often unproven statements of either party : it is this which is referred to when, in the Gortynian Code, the judge is ordered to decide cases *πορτὶ τὰ μωλιώμενα*, 'according to the contention of the two parties.' In the earlier stages of society however men preferred to get a decision on a point of fact in another way ; by making the whole depend on what we should call chance and they called the judgment of heaven. This was got either by requiring the accused to clear himself by a solemn oath, as in Crete, Athens, Rome, and Germany ; or by the wager of battle or various ordeals, as in Germany. Now just as the *πρόκλησις εἰς ὄρκον* is the method of applying the ordeal of the oath used at Athens, so it seems most natural to see in the *πρόκλησις εἰς βάσανον* the relic of some other form of ordeal. Our authorities, who lived at a time when the procedure was much talked of but rarely used, represent it as an attempt to extract from the slave the knowledge of

the fact which he possesses : I venture to suggest that if we knew more about the early history of Attic law, we should find that the effectiveness of the *βάσανος* depended very little upon whether or no the man who was submitted to it knew anything at all about the matter on which he was questioned, and that it is really a vicarious ordeal, altered and wrested till it has become little distinguishable from ordinary evidence. The peculiarity of the Attic law is that it only allows either kind of ordeal when both parties agree to this method of trial ; in most other countries, at least in some cases, the magistrate could oblige the suitors to accept this procedure.

I cannot but feel that this theory will appear bold to the verge of paradox : I offer it with much hesitation, but I can find no other explanation of the phenomena. It is a maxim of Attic jurisprudence that the *βάσανος* is (with the *ὄρκος*) the sure way of obtaining the truth as to facts ; the procedure is quite irrational, it is hardly ever used, but always spoken of with very great respect. I therefore conclude that it is a relic of a custom which has the support of antiquity and probably of religious associations. In all countries we find procedure by ordeal used in a similar way to this, which like this is an alternative to argument before a court : the *πρόκλησις εἰς ὄρκον* at Athens is clearly an ordeal ; the procedure in the *πρόκλησις εἰς βάσανον* is closely parallel to this and they are spoken of in very similar terms. The natural conclusion is that the *πρόκλησις εἰς βάσανον* arose out of some other kind of ordeal but, as was the case with so many other old customs, had been altered till it is scarcely recognizable.

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#### ON SOME NEGLECTED EVIDENCES OF THE SOUND OF C, V, AND S IN LATIN.

##### C.

THE pun on *Sosiam* and *Socium* in the *Amphitruo*, 383-4, has often been cited to prove that it is not absolutely certain that *c* was always pronounced like *k*, and it has been a great stumbling-block to scholars who claim that *c* was in all cases a surd guttural.

This pun however has been satisfactorily

explained as due to the fact that Plautus was an Umbrian, and hence was influenced by the sounds of *c* in his native language, in which phonetic development has proceeded further than in Latin. It is a matter of some surprise that, since the Umbrian dialect has been called in to weaken the argument of those who would urge this pun as an evidence that *c* was not always a surd guttural, an argument has not been drawn

from the same source to prove that it did not have the sound of *s*. The testimony of the Eugubine Tables is clear on this point. In those written in Latin characters *c* everywhere represents an Umbrian *č* (*k*) and never an Umbrian *d* (*g*) (Bréal, *Les Tables Eugubines*, p. 324).

The following examples clearly illustrate this point:—

Plate 1a. **WVSKDĀI** (persclum).

In Latin characters, PERSCLO.

Plate 1b. **VTDĀVĀ** (Kuvertu).

In Latin characters, COVERTV.

Plate 1b. **AQKAS. IMAK** (Kapi sacra).

In Latin characters, CAPIFSACRA.

The Umbrian *d* (*g*) was transliterated by *s* with an accent, thus: *š*.

Plate 1b. **ASQDĀd** (Cerfe).

In Latin characters, SERFE.

Plate IV. **ATĀdNAKS** (skalçeta).

In Latin characters, SCALSETO.

Plate 1b. **VWId** (Çimu).

In Latin characters, SIMO.

The mark over the *s* is not always found, or at least does not always show in the facsimiles. Thus in *skalçeta* above no mark appears in M. Bréal's *Album*.

From these facts it is very reasonable to suppose that when the copies in Latin characters were made the Latin *c* was in all positions a surd guttural, for if it had been sounded like *s* before the vowels *e* and *i* it would have been used to represent the Umbrian *d* (*g*) in those positions. M. Bréal says (*Les Tables Eugubines*, p. 307): 'Tables VI.-VII. are copies of a text in Etruscan characters, and the copies were probably made towards the end of the first century before the Christian era.'

## V.

Gothic has often been quoted to establish the fact that *c* was a surd guttural; for example: Latin, *lucerna*—Gothic, *lukern*; Latin, *acetum*—Gothic, *akeit*; Latin, *cancer*—Gothic, *karkara*. Its testimony might with equal propriety be taken in regard to Latin consonantal *v*. In borrowed words

this letter is always transliterated by the Gothic *w*, which had the same sound as English *w* (Browne's *Goth. Gram.* p. 19). The following are examples:—

Latin, <i>vinum</i> .	Gothic, <i>wein</i> .
„ <i>evangelium</i> ,	„ <i>aivaggeli</i> .
„ <i>oleum</i> .	„ <i>olēw</i> .
„ <i>cautio</i> .	„ <i>kawtsjo</i> .

The evidence which may be drawn from Anglo-Saxon in regard to the sound of consonantal *v* in Latin impresses me as strongly as that from Gothic, and yet it has never been quoted so far as I know. There are three words in Anglo-Saxon which were borrowed from the Romans before 500 A.D. These are *win*, *wic*, and *weall*, from Latin *vinum*, *vicus*, and *vallum* respectively. The form of these words shows that the Latin *v* was *w* when this borrowing took place.

There can be no reasonable doubt that these are borrowed words (Curtius, I. 487; Skeat's *Principles of English Etymology*, I. 398). Nor can it be urged, as might be done in the case of *c*, that the Goths and Saxons had no other letter to represent the Roman *v*. They had the surd spirant *f*, which certainly might have been used, and probably would have been used in some cases at least, if the Latin *v* had not been distinctly like *w*.

## S.

Since there was in Gothic a surd sibilant *s* and a sonant sibilant *z*, the method of writing in that language words borrowed from Latin affords valuable evidence in regard to the pronunciation of that letter. In all cases, so far as noted, the Latin *s* becomes *s* in Gothic, and never *z*. The following are examples of initial, medial, and final *s*:—

LATIN.	GOTHIC.
cubitus.	kubitus.
Caesar.	Kaisar.
sigillum.	siglo.
solea.	suljo.
soccus.	sakkus.

The list might be considerably increased, but these examples are sufficient to show how the Latin *s* was represented.

The transliteration of words in late Hebrew, as shown by Dr. Blackwell, of this University, in a paper printed in the *Proceedings of the Am. Phil. Assoc.* 1881, indicates that the Latin *s* was as far as possible from *z*. It was transliterated by the He-

brew **D** and not by **W**, which shows that it must have been an unmistakable surd sibilant. If the position of Bugge (*Studien über die Entstehung den nordischen Götter- und Heldenage*) and Bréal (*Journal des Savants*, Oct. and Nov. 1889) in regard to

the Latin element in Teutonic speech is correct, many additional examples can be added to those given above.

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### THE PROSPECTIVE SUBJUNCTIVE.

Sed rusticorum mascula militum  
Proles, Sabellis docta lagonibus  
Versare glebas et severae  
Matris ad arbitrium recisos  
Portare fustes, sol ubi montium  
Mutaret umbras et iuga demeret  
Bobus fatigatis.

(Horace, Odes iii. 6. 37—43.)

'Trained to carry logs hewn at the will of a strict mother, when the sun should shift the shadows of the mountains and remove the yoke from wearied oxen.'

The necessity of translating this passage in class the other day reminded me of a long deferred project of writing a paper on the use of the Latin Subjunctive as a *Future-equivalent*. In the above passage the commentators whom I have consulted have no inkling of this meaning (*should shift*). Yet 'when the sun was shifting' seems not suitable in sense, even if it could be justified in grammar. Draeger iv. p. 568 takes *mutaret* as Iterative Subj., but has to admit that there is no other instance of it with *ubi* in Horace: a still more serious objection is that the simple iterative meaning 'whenever the sun shifted' is also not quite apt. A truer grammatical aesthesis seems to me to discover here a meaning of the Imperfect Subjunctive which will throw light upon a large number of passages hitherto inadequately treated. In such cases the Imperf. Subj. marks an action as *future in the past*; or, using the term 'prospective' to mean 'relatively future,' we may say that the Imperf. Subj. has *past prospective* meaning. For the term 'prospective' I have a liking, having used it and found it of great service in teaching during the last five or six years. It is the object of this paper to justify the use of it by reference to a few of the many passages which I have collected. The doctrine admits of a wide application and I do not propose to follow it out into all its consequences.

In the above passage of Horace the mean-

ing seems to be that the young men were bidden to carry logs when (or whenever) evening *should come*; their mother's will related to a future action on their part. How far such an instance can be explained as 'virtually oblique' will be discussed below.

If there are any to whom the doctrine that the Latin Present Subj. often has future meaning is a stumbling-block, they may be reminded that 'Present Subj.' is only a name, and a name which very inadequately represents the meanings of the form; and that the connexion of *form* between Present and Perfect Subjunctives on the one hand and Future and Future Perfect Indicatives on the other cannot be denied (*dicam*; *audiam*; *dixerit*); *ero*, *videro*, *faxo*, etc., are in origin Subjunctives, and so are *ἔδομαι*, *τίσσαι*, etc.: cf. too the future meaning of the Subj. in Homer (*ἔγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι*), and in Attic such things as *ὅπος* with Fut. Indic. = Lat. Present and Imperf. Subj., *ἔνθα μή τις ὄψεται* (*Ajax* 658, etc.) corresponding to *ἔνθα μή τις εἰσίθοι* (after a tense of past time, *Trach.* 903).

The excellent Latin Grammar of Messrs. Allen and Greenough (1889) does full justice, and even more than justice, to this meaning of the Pres. Subj.; but it leaves the corresponding use of the Imperf. Subj., adjusted to a past tense, unrecognized.<sup>1</sup>

That in Conditional Sentences the tenses of the Subjunctive express differences of *time* and not degrees of probability, possibility, etc., and that the Pres. Subj. comes to refer ordinarily to future time, the Imperf. Subj.

<sup>1</sup> § 283 'The Pres. Subj. always refers to future time, the Imperf. to either past or present, the Perf. to either future or past, the Pluperf. always to past': cf. § 327. This statement is in some respects too wide (cf. the Pres. Subj. in some Consecutive Clauses referring to present time, and the old Latin *si sciam* = *si scirem* Rud. 196, Adelph. 934, which use reappears occasionally in classical Latin, e.g. Ovid Met. i. 400), and in other respects too narrow: the Imperf. and Pluperf. Subj. may refer to future time in the same degree as the Pres. and Perf.; the difference is that the former tenses stand in past time when they have future reference, the latter in present time.

to present time<sup>1</sup> and the Pluperf. Subj. to past time, I tried to show in a previous article (*Class. Rev.* I. p. 124 f.): the view there expressed that the Ciceronian *si negem mentiar* contains a future condition with an implication of reserve ('if I were to deny it'—but I do not say that I shall) has met with some acceptance; but there are also sentences of the type *si fractus illabatur orbis Impavidum ferient ruinæ* in which the Pres. Subj. with future meaning ('should the welkin crack and fall') is undeniable and perfectly classical in both prose and verse; I have given instances in my note on Rudens 1021,<sup>2</sup> but will here add Hor. Od. ii. 14. 4—6 *aferet... Non si trecentis, quotquot eunt dies, Amice, places illacrimabilem Plutona tauris.* In all such cases exact English usage requires 'should,' whereas in *si negem mentiar* 'were to' is more proper in the if-clause.

Again in Temporal Clauses introduced by *antequam*, *priusquam*, *donec*, *quoad*, *dum* with the Subj. I believe that the real effect of the mood is to mark the action as *in prospect* or *contemplated*, whereas the past tenses of the Indic. mark it as a fact. The commonly received doctrine that the Subj. here denotes *purpose* is really too narrow, and seems to be based upon an insufficient examination of instances. *Dum condenserit urbem* 'till he should found the city' admits of the idea of purpose, though it does not necessarily involve it: the same may be said of *impetum hostium sustinuit quoad ceteri pontem interrumpentes* (*interrupserent*) and also perhaps of *exspecto dum dicat* and *exspectabam dum diceret*; but 'purpose' is excluded from instances like *confugiamus priusquam [is] huc sceleratus leno veniat nosque hic opprimat* Rud. 455 ff., and *antequam se hostes ex terrore recipieren, ad oppidum contendit*: for the purpose would have to be a negative one (cf. Roby, Gr. § 1672). Futurity is the genus, purpose the species; and as in many instances only the more general

<sup>1</sup> An interesting example to illustrate the Imperf. and Pluperf. Subj. is Cic. Cat. Maior § 19: *Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectus cum suæ paenitentia (present time)? Nec enim excursione nec saltu... uteretur (present time), sed consilio, ratione, sentientia. Quia nisi essent (present time) in sensibus, non summum consilium maiores nostri appellassent senatum.*

<sup>2</sup> A distinction is there drawn between cases where the Subj. refers to future time and cases where it refers to present or past time, e.g. *si sint ea vera, quid mirum fecit?* 'if that be true,' Pseud. 433, *tibi non erat copia nisi occiperes*, Bacch. 563. Such instances are not included below, though they are very often practically indistinguishable from those which I quote: e.g. Juvenal x. 339 *ni velis* may refer to future or present time.

meaning is admissible, it is worth considering whether we should not amend our rule so as to make it applicable to all cases. An example like Cic. pro Balbo § 18 *priusquam aggrediar ad causam, quiddam de communi condicione omnium nostrum commemorandum videtur* seems to me simply to mark futurity, and not *will*, as one would infer from Dr. Reid's note.<sup>3</sup> That we must not speak of all the tenses of the Indic. as denoting fact is shown by Ciceronian instances like *priusquam de ceteris respondeo, de amicitia parva dicam* (Phil. ii. 1) and *opporior dum cognosco* (Cat. iv. 20), in which we have a curious parallel to the English and German use of the Pres. Indic. in reference to futurity<sup>4</sup>: *respondeo* and *dicit* are practically indistinguishable from *respondeam* and *dicat*. It should not be forgotten that the Fut. Indic. is almost unknown with *antequam* and *priusquam*; if the Subordinate Clause is to express futurity the only tenses here available are the Pres. (or Fut. Perf.) Indic. and the Pres. (or Perf.) Subj. in dependence on a primary tense, and the Imperf. and Pluperf. Subj. in dependence on a secondary tense. Thus it is not surprising that Latin made a large use of the secondary tenses of the Subj. to express *futurity from a point of view in the past*—the Imperf. Subj. to express the action as not completed ('should write'), the Pluperf. Subj. to express it as completed ('should have written').

Essentially the same meaning seems to lie in those Consecutive Clauses which express the 'natural consequence' as distinct from the 'actual consequence': *deo iudices exarserunt ut Socratem condemnarent* ('as to condemn'), as distinct from *ut S. condemnarent* ('that they condemned'). For the 'natural consequence' is just a consequence marked as merely contemplated or in prospect. There is a very close connexion in Latin between Consecutive Clauses and Final Clauses, the former being probably in reality a development of the latter<sup>5</sup>; and it is often impossible to say precisely under which heading an instance should be classed; *nec quod speraret habebat* 'nothing to hope for' = 'nothing that he should hope for,' et

<sup>3</sup> The Indicative merely points out the *fact* that of two events one succeeds the other in time, while the Subjunctive declares that their succession is *willed* by a person—a remark which may be true of the origin of the construction (the Subj. being the mood of 'willing' and 'shalling') but does not tally with the actual usus loquendi.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. my notes on Rudens 179 and 961. 'Before I answer' = 'Before answering' = 'Before I shall answer.'

<sup>5</sup> Hanssen, *Philologischer Anzeiger*, vol. xvii.

*quod spectarem nil nisi pontus erat* 'nothing for me to look upon' would be generally classed as Consecutive, but are to me rather Final: there is all the difference between such instances and *nox tam obscura erat ut nihil viderem* 'that I saw nothing.'

I will now apply the above views to a few passages containing various kinds of Subordinate Clause; for convenience of reference I will number them.

1. Cic. Pro Planc. 98 *Antequam de meo adventu audire potuissent, in Macedoniam perrexi* 'before they should have been able.' Not, as Allen and Greenough say (§ 327), parallel to the ordinary meaning of *cum* with the Pluperf. Subj.

2. Hor. Epist. i. 20. 10 *Carus eris Romae, donec te deserat aetas* 'until youth and good looks shall desert thee': no need to say with Orelli that 'ut ego reor' is implied in the Subj. [deserat, not deseret or deserit, is the reading of the majority of MSS., according to Orelli].

3. Nepos Mil. 3 *Darius eius pontis, dum ipse abasset, custodes reliquit* 'whilst he himself should be absent.'

4. Verg. Aen. ii. 136 *Delitui dum vela darent, si forte dedissent* 'I lay in hiding till they should sail—if haply (=in the hope that) I should find that they had sailed,' lit. 'if haply they should have sailed.' Both Subjunctives refer to the future from the point of view of *delitui*; *dedissent* marks the prospective action as completed in relation to a point of time implied (before my period of hiding should be over): cf. Cic. ad. Att. xiii. 22. 5 *epistulam Caesaris misi, si minus legisses* 'in case you should not have read it,' i.e. by the time it should come to hand. Similarly the Fut. Perf. Indic. in such sentences as *Ergo certe officium meum praestiero* 'You will find (when you examine into the matter) that I have done my duty.' The above clauses with *dum* and *si* are co-ordinate, being both subordinate in the same degree to *delitui*. Heyne's punctuation, adopted by Dr. Kennedy (commas after *vela* and *forte*), would make *darent si forte* subordinate to *dum vela dedissent*: this would be good sense, but it is unnatural and unnecessary, as other English editors say.

5. Ibid. ii. 756 *Inde domum, si forte pedem si forte tulisset, Me refero* 'in case, ah in case, she should have returned.'

6. Livy xxi. 5. 11 *invicta acies si aequo dimicaretur campo* 'invincible, should the battle be fought out on level ground.' An open, not a rejected condition.

7. Livy xxi. 17. 6 *transmissurus in Afri-*

*cam si ad arcendum Italia Poenum consul alter satis esset* 'intending to cross...should one of the two consuls be sufficient.' Not a rejected condition, 'if one consul were sufficient').

8. Ovid Trist. i. 6. 14 *In bona venturus, si paterere, fuit* 'was intending to take possession of my goods, should you permit him.' Or we may say here that *venturus fuit* = *venisset* and that *paterere* = 'had you permitted him' (a rejected condition).

9. Livy xxx. 47. 4 *quos ego, si tribuni me triumphare prohiberent, testes citaturus fui rerum a me gestorum* 'whom I was intending to call as witnesses, should the tribunes forbid my triumphing.' Mr. Roby (Gr. § 1573) treats *prohiberent* as 'had been preventing me' (a rejected condition), which is also possible.

10. Livy xxi. 19. 2 *Nam si verborum disceptationis res esset, quid foedus Hasdrubalis cum Lutatii priore foedere...comparandum erat.* '(Yet the Romans were quite able to meet the Carthaginians in argument) for if they should come to a contest of words, what comparison was there,' etc.

11. Ovid Fast. v. 408 *Sic flendus Peleus, si moreretur, erat* 'Thus was Peleus to be mourned, should he die.' Mr. Hallam (l. 360) translates 'if he had been dying,' which seems less suitable (*erat* not *fuit*).

12. Ovid Met. i. 620 f. *Sed leve si munus sociae generisque torique Vacca negaretur, poterat non vacca videri* 'if the trifling gift of a cow should be denied...she might seem to be no cow' (better, I think, than 'if...had been denied...she might have seemed,' for which we should rather expect *potuit*).

13. Hor. Sat. ii. 6. 30 f. *Tu pulses omne quod obstat, Ad Maecenatem memori si mente recursar? 'Are you to knock about (Deliberative) everything in your way, in case you should be hastening to pay your duty to Maecenas,' etc. [I prefer to take the sentence as a question: cf. Sat. ii. 7. 40 *tu...ultra insectare?* i. 16. 39 *mordear* 'am I to be stung?']*

14. Cic. Pro Sest. 88 *tanta fuit moderatio hominis...ut illum...legum, si posset, laqueis constringeret* 'that he tried to fasten him, if possible (= should he be able) in the toils of the law.'

15. Hor. Epist. i. 18. 80 *ut penitus notum, si tentent crimina, serves* 'in order that you may protect one whom you know intimately, should slander attack him.' Not mere 'attractio modi.' [We often use 'should' for 'shall' in English to denote futurity from the point of view of present time: cf. No. 13, above.]

16. Hor. Od. iii. 5. 17 *exemplo trahentis Perniciem veniens in aerum, Si non periret immiserabilis Captiva pubes* 'should the captive warriors not perish.' [It is probably such examples as this which have given rise to the mistaken idea that the Lat. Imperf. Subj. corresponds to the Greek *εἰ* with the Optative in Independent Conditional Sentences.]

17. Sall. Jug. 25. I. 17 *timebat iram senatus nisi legatis paruisse* 'should he not obey.' Not, as some commentators say, equivalent to 'the Senate would have punished him' ('apodosis informally expressed'); for that would make *nisi paruisse* = 'if he had not obeyed,' instead of 'should he not be found to have obeyed.'

18. Livy xxxii. 20. 1 *saudendi, si quis vellet, potestas a magistratibus facta est* 'an opportunity of speaking, if any one should desire it.'

19. Cic. Cat. iii. 5. 11 *Si quid dicere vellet, feci potestatem* 'should he wish.'

20. Verg. Aen. iii. 653 *Huic me, quae cumque fuissest, addixi* 'To this fleet I committed myself, whatever it should turn out to be.'

21. Hor. Sat. ii. 8. 75 *tibi di, quaecumque priceris, Commoda dent* 'whatever you shall ask.' No need to explain by 'attractio modi.'

22. Verg. Aen. vii. 427 *Haec adeo tibi me, placida cum nocte iaceres, Ipsa palam fari omnipotens Saturnia iussit*, 'when thou shouldst be lying.'

How far is the explanation of these Subjunctives to be found in the doctrine of Virtual Oratio Obliqua? That there is a close relation between the cases cited above and the forms of 'reported speech' cannot be denied. Indeed it is clear that when an action in prospect is spoken of, there will generally be found some reference to the thought of some one looking forward to the future.<sup>1</sup> But in the first place the doctrine as applied by Dr. Kennedy (see Pref. to Lat. Gram. pp. xxix—xxxviii) often involves a strange method of resolving the principal verb, as when he converts *addixi* of No. 20 into *dixi me adhaesurum*. Again no one thinks of applying such a treatment to examples like Nos. 1 and 2. Why then should it be necessary in examples like No. 3? No. 4 is a particularly interesting case because *dum vela darent* is the ordinary prospective construction with *dum*; and *si*

*vela dedissent* which follows merely carries on the prospective construction. Thus the use of the Prospective Subj. in true oratio obliqua (under which head we may if we like include No. 22) appears to be merely one case of a more general law: to explain the latter by the former is a *τὸτεπον τῷτεπον*. The term 'Virtual Oratio Obliqua' is a useful one; but it ought, I think, to be limited to such cases as *Animadvertis equum, ut ferunt fabulae, cuius in lateribus fores essent* (Cic. De Off. iii. 9. 38) and others in which the same usage is extended. It seems only confusing to apply it to cases like *mirabile est quod non rideat haruspex cum haruspicem viderit* (De Nat. Deor. i. 26. 71), where Dr. Kennedy says *mirabile videatur = mirandum esse putant*, and Mr. Papillon explains as = 'It seems strange when we think of the fact,' at the same time classing the clause as causal ('Aids to Latin Prose,' p. 111): rather *quod non rideat* is a subject clause 'that a soothsayer should not laugh' (where we have a use of the English 'should' which does not express futurity): cf. ibid. 20 *sed illa palmaria quod... mundum dixerit fore sempiternum* 'that he should have declared,' ibid. 77 *Accessit etiam ista opinio quod homini homine nihil pulchrius videatur*. The change of Indic. to Subj. in the *quod*-clause makes it precisely equivalent to an Acc. with Infin.; it is thus *actually* rather than *virtually* oblique.—No. 12 is interesting in another way. It expresses the thought of Jupiter deliberating between two alternatives. His thought *si negabitur* (or *negetur*) *munus, potest non vacca videri* is thrown into the past; but no one, so far as I know, has ever called it oratio obliqua. That is just what it is not; though it employs a Subj. which might have been used in or. obl. The thought is repeated without obliquity, if I may use such an expression. Had it been thrown into or. obl. it would have run *si negaretur munus, posse eam non vaccam videri*. Compare Cic. Pro Mur. xv. 33 *nam cum eam urbem sibi Mithridates Asiae ianuam fore putarisset, qua effracta et revolta tota pateret provincia, perfecta a Lucullo haec sunt omnia* etc., where we should have expected *fore ut pateret* instead of *pateret* (cf. the Engl. intermediate form 'would, he thought, lie open'): for the ablative absolute is equivalent to 'et si haec effracta et revolta esset'. Precisely similar instances will be found in Pro Caelio xxvi. 62 *nam si essent in vestibulo balnearum, non laterent*, etc. and De Off. iii. 11. 49 *quo facto frangi Lacedaemoniorum opes necesses eset*, in both of which we should expect *fore ut*. If I have recorded rightly,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Carlyle's *Frederick the Great* (Ashburton Edition, vol. I., book IV., p. 368): 'Friedrich Wilhelm took his newspaper till the job were done,' i.e. should be done.

Prof. Hale discussed such cases in the *American Journal of Philology* viii. 1.

But even if it were granted that all these passages are modelled on the forms of reported speech, that would be no explanation of the phenomenon; it would merely transfer the difficulty to another place. How did it come about that in reported speech the tenses of the Subjunctive came to have future reference? Surely because of the inherent power of some tenses at least of the Subjunctive to express futurity: cf. in the Simple Sentence the use of the Deliberative Subj. (Pres. and Imperf.). The future sense of the Imperfect and Pluperf. Subj. seems to have arisen in connexion with the meaning 'ought'; e.g. *potius diceret* 'he ought to have said' 'he should have said,' just like the future meaning of the English 'should.'

The true key to all these passages seems to me to lie in recognizing a broad use of all the tenses of the Subjunctive with prospective meaning; the rule may be expressed as it stands in § 512 of my Latin Grammar (where however I have given only such instances as are universally recognized as falling under it):—The Subjunctive is used as a Future-equivalent wherever reference to the future is clear from the context. In such cases

<i>Subj.</i>	<i>Indic.</i>
Pres. corresponds to Fut.	
Perf.      "	Fut. Perf.
Impf.     "	Fut.      } in past
Plupf.    "	Fut. Perf.    } time.

E. A. SONNENSCHEIN.

#### SOME NOTES ON PLATO AND ARISTOTLE.

PLATO *Rep.* iii. 405 C. *ἐπέτεια νοσήματα*—which Mr. Jowett for some reason I cannot divine translates by 'epidemics'—is well rendered in Mr. Warren's edition 'annual' or 'seasonable diseases, belonging to the time of year.' These regularly recurrent diseases, needing to be regularly cured or regularly provided against, are, I believe, called by doctors 'seasonal.' In my youth the provision against one class of them—what, I do not know—was sulphur, with which, disguised in treacle, we were annually dosed. At other times people have at certain periods of the year regularly submitted to bleeding. In a well known line of the *Arts Poetica*, Horace speaks of purging himself of bile each spring. To the cure of these recurrent and in a special sense natural disorders Plato had no objection.

*Ib.* vi. 498. Plato is describing and censuring in this well-known passage the way in which philosophy was pursued in his day. Its most difficult part was attacked by mere striplings just out of childhood (*μειράκια ὄντα ἀρτί ἐπι παιδῶν*) τὸ μεταξὺ οἰκονομίας καὶ χρηματισμοῦ: in after life men at the most participated in philosophic discussion merely as listeners and by way of πάρεργον: towards old age their philosophic fire was usually quenched as absolutely as Heraclitus' sun at nightfall. The general drift of this is clear enough; but what do the words τὸ μεταξὺ &c. mean? Stallbaum rendered them 'dum student quaestui,' 'while they are engaged in business and housekeep-

ing'; and he has been followed by Davies and Vaughan, Jowett and the Engelmann translator. But do 'striplings just out of childhood' engage in οἰκονομία and χρηματισμός? And if they can be dialecticians while so engaged, why cannot older men? But the truth is that we have here the well-known idiom by which after μεταξύ and similar words 'only one of the two limits is given,' as Sidgwick puts it on Aesch. *Choeph.* 63; add to his examples Thuc. iii. 51 τὸν ἔσπλαντ εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νήσου (= the water-space between the island and the mainland: Krüger had thought from ignorance of the idiom that καὶ τῆς Νησίας must have fallen out). The passage before us now becomes rational; philosophy is only actively pursued by youths just out of childhood, during the interval between *childhood* and the business occupations of a grown man.<sup>1</sup>

Arist. *Nic. Eth.* v. 2. 6. General and partial ἀδικία are here said to be συνώνυμος, because their definition is 'in the same genus,' ἐν τῷ πρὸς ἔτερον. It has always seemed to me that by the 'genus' here spoken of must be intended the Category of Relation πρὸς τί or πρὸς ἔτερον 6b 37. I am glad to see that Mr. Stewart in his new notes on the *Ethics* takes the same view, supporting it by an extract from a Greek commentator. It is simpler to refer to the master himself: cf. *Met.* Δ. 1016b 33 εἴδει [εἰς] ὡς ὁ λόγος εἰς, γένει δὲ ὡς τὸ αὐτὸν σχῆμα τῆς

<sup>1</sup> The passage is similarly explained by Mr. H. Richards in *Classical Review*, Vol. II. p. 324b. ED

*κατηγορίας*: compare also 1024b 10-13 *ἔτερα τῷ γένει λέγεται...καὶ ὅσα καθ' ἔτερον σχῆμα τῆς κατηγορίας τοῦ ὄντος λέγεται*. It must be confessed that *συνώνυμα* of this kind (if Aristotle really contemplated such a kind) positively refuse to come under the well-known definition in the Categories where it is said that the *λόγος* must be one<sup>1</sup>; Jackson and Grant throw no light on the present passage.

In Bk. v. Aristotle describes corrective justice as equally concerned with the voluntary and involuntary intercourse of men with each other. Under the latter head comes robbery and injustice, the results of which law rectifies; but some difficulty has often been felt as to the relation of corrective justice to the voluntary *συναλλάγματα*, such as purchase and sale, borrowing and lending, &c., with which Aristotle expressly says the law does not interfere. Mr. Jackson with his usual good sense brushed away this imaginary difficulty by pointing out that if one man lends another money (which is a purely voluntary transaction and may be effected on any terms that please the parties), and the borrower afterwards refuses to repay the loan, corrective justice properly steps in to make him do so. In a note which appeared in the *Classical Review* (iii. p. 196) I thought to confirm this by showing that Aristotle's examples plainly indicated him to have such an idea in his mind; for by the side of *ἔμοιχενσεν* he puts *ἀπεστέρησεν*, which is common Attic for refusal to pay a debt; I put a concrete case of this, of the same simple character as Mr. Jackson's. A contract of sale (say of a book) has been freely formed; the vendor has delivered the book; what is to happen if the purchaser does not pay for it? Obvious as all this is, Mr. Stewart still repeats that Aristotle gives no example of corrective justice applied to voluntary *συναλλάγματα*; to make up for this he offers us a brilliant example of his own, and then proceeds to criticize Mr. Jackson's. And what is this criticism? He thinks Mr. Jackson's example wrong—though admitting that Aristotle would probably have accepted it. If he would have accepted it, why is it wrong? Because, says Mr. Stewart, not to return borrowed money would be *κλοπή*, theft. This is indeed enough to make any one with an atom of legal instinct or legal training stare and gasp. *A* lends *B* one pound, not intending or expecting to get that particular

sovereign back again; that has become *B*'s property once for all; he cannot steal it, though he keeps it for ever; he is only saddled with a liability to pay back a sovereign. His neglect to pay may be criminal; but he steals nothing.

In the famous ch. on exchange Mr. Stewart, though rightly insisting that Aristotle expressly recognizes only two kinds of *ἀπλῶς δίκαιον*, seems to me to introduce mere confusion by trying to view the justice of exchange as a kind of public justice. It should be regarded as one of the *δίκαια καθ' ὅμοιότητα*, perhaps a part of what he afterwards calls *οἰκονομικὸν δίκαιον* (cf. *Pol.* i. 8. 13). It is also wrong to import into a commentary on this chapter the ideas that the worth of an article or a workman depends on the amount of labour in the one or trained skill in the other; of all this there is no trace in the *Ethics*. Aristotle must have the credit of starting the problem of value—Why is one thing more costly than another? But his solution merely re-states the problem, being in fact this: that the relative values of things are determined by men's relative need of them; that men pay more for a house than for a pair of shoes because they want it more, and so—the agreed measure of want being money—they are willing to pay more for it. Any one with a tincture of economic science sees that this tells us nothing; but it is not wonderful that this should have escaped Aristotle. Economics no better than his are probably common enough at the present day.

In the passage about *ἀρχαί* in Bk. i. 7. 21 Mr. Stewart explains the statement that some *ἀρχαί* are obtained by *αἱσθησίς* as follows: either we must say that *αἱσθησίς* is necessarily involved in *ἐπαγωγή* and a first step to it, or we must suppose that *ἀρχή* here is not a principle but a mere starting-point. This must prove rather confusing to the beginner. The fact is that Mr. Stewart cannot place himself at Aristotle's point of view; probably it is too simple for him. The *ἀρχή* of a particular science, according to Aristotle, is the fundamental subject-matter (as we might say, concept) of that science, or the definition of the same. The *ἀρχή* of Euclid, Book iii. (we cannot too sedulously use geometrical illustrations to interpret Aristotle's view of science) is the circle and its definition, of arithmetic the unit and its definition, of thermotics heat, and of ethics *τὸ ἀγαθόν*. Now if we refer to the *Posterior Analytics* i. we find that *ἀρχαί* must be assumed, for they cannot be demonstrated; that in some cases it is

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Stewart in saying that the *λόγος* here is one seems to contradict the first passage above quoted from the *Met.*

necessary to call special attention to this assumption and make its nature clear by ἐπαγγή from particulars which are directly known; but that in some cases (where the subject-matter is φανέρον) there is no need to call attention to this assumption (c. 10. 76b 16), e.g. with regard to heat and cold, which are obvious, and so unlike the unit, which is the ἀρχή of arithmetic. Put into language suitable to the present occasion the whole amounts to this; that the ἀρχή of arithmetic requires ἐπαγγή to assure us of its existence and meaning, but the ἀρχή of thermotics is apprehended by αἰσθησις. Cf. *de Part. An.* 639b 11, where the physician is said to fix his end (ὑγίεια) ὅρισάμενος ἡ τῇ διαινοίᾳ ἡ τῇ αἰσθησεί.

In Bk. viii. on κληρωτὸς βασιλεύς Mr. Stewart gives (after Coray and Ramsauer) the passages from Plato which indicate by illustrations the character intended, though he also adds the futile view of the older commentators. He does not notice my attempted proof in this Journal that the phrase would be regular Greek of the time for a 'nominal king'; a proof based on the constitutional practice at Athens and the constitutional precepts of Aristotle, and corroborated by its power to supply for the first time a rational interpretation (of which Prof. Lewis Campbell approved) of a passage in the *Laws*.

That a familiarity with the Greek commentators, good as it is, may at times prove an obstacle to something better, a knowledge of the original authorities, is shown by the curious note on δέ τονεῖ τὸ ζῷον and what follows it in Bk. vii. 14. 5: 'Aspasius tells us this saying is due to Anaxagoras.' Does Mr. Stewart really know nothing of Anaxagoras' remarkable theory (stated by Theophrastus and to be found in any edition of Ritter and Preller) that perception was not by similarity (as Empedocles had thought) but by opposition, that opposition was painful, and therefore (as Aristotle says here) all perception involved pain, to which we gradually become accustomed?

A few words may be added on the passage immediately following the above (*Eth. N.* vii. 14. 6, 1154b 9)—ὅμοιος δὲ ἐν μὲν τῇ νεότητι διὰ τὴν αἴξησιν ὥσπερ οἱ οἰνόμενοι διάκενται, καὶ ἦδι ἡ νεότης. οἱ δὲ μελαγχολικοὶ δέονται λατρείας ... καὶ δέ εἰ ὁρέει σφοδρὰ εἰσίν. Mr. Stewart here simply copies Grant's note. Grant's view, identical with Michelet's, and suitable to the general tenor of the ch., holds that we have here compared 'the *desires* of youth with those of drunkenness and the melancholy temperament,' all being violent: and

he tells us that we shall find the same comparison in *Problems*, Bk. xxx. c. 1. But then would he translate ἦδι ἡ νεότης, as the worthy Michelet frankly does, 'est enim prona ad voluptates inventus'? In consistency he is bound to do so; but he observes a wise reticence on this point, and so does Mr. Stewart: both value what Mark Pattison called 'the two editorial privileges—silence where explanation is needed, diffuseness where it is superfluous.' Of course Michelet's translation is impossible, but then his and Grant's theory of the passage becomes impossible too. Nor does the lengthy 'Problem' to which Grant refers exactly bear out his account of it. It tells us that all περιττοί are μελαγχολικοί and have often shown the well-known pathological symptoms of that κρᾶσις: the μελαγχολικοί are all περιττοί and ἐκστατικοί in different or perhaps even opposite directions, showing abnormal talkativeness or taciturnity, abnormal affectionateness, compassion, &c.: wine imitates in a single person, but temporarily only, all these striking and unusual forms of character. This is because both the μελαγχολικὰ πάθη and wine are πνευματώδη, which is also proved to Aristotle's mind by the lecherousness which is the result of both. Another explanation—not apparently intended to contradict the above—is that the μέλανα χολή can be both exceedingly hot and exceedingly cold, and this accounts for the melancholic temperament being in excess sometimes in one direction (cheerful, bold, talented, amorous), sometimes in the opposite. All men have something of this 'melancholic' ξείς, but a few have it in excess. Not till we are four-fifths through the 'Problem' is a word said about youth. Then we are abruptly told 'when the κρᾶσις is colder it causes irrational dejection; therefore suicides are frequent with the young, and sometimes found among the old' (954b 35). Presently we are told that youth, like wine, makes one hopeful; and again that the young are more cheerful. Finally the great feature of the melancholic temperament is represented as its unevenness, its 'ups and downs.' I do not well see what to make of this medley as a whole. The view of the 'melancholic character' does not seem identical with what we find in the present chapter; where in the 'Problem' is the constant sense of want, the need of cure that we find here? Or at least, if we can detect these in the melancholiac's cold fits, where are they in his hot—unless perhaps it is thought that these are indicated by calling men in the hot fit εὐκίνητοι πρὸς τοὺς

*θυμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας?* And what again about youth? If it is intended to say that youth is eminently a time of hot and cold fits, it must be allowed that this is implied in an unusually indirect and desultory manner. Still I cannot deny that the writer may have intended this. Only in this case we are further than ever from an explanation of *ἥδη η νεότης*. It is possible then that the passage in the *Ethics* implies a somewhat different set of ideas from those of the 'Problem,' and in particular that the young are here opposed to the melancholic (as the *μέν* and *δέ* would seem to show—the punc-

tuation needs correction, as Mr. Bywater admitted to me) so that we might translate the passage: 'And so in youth owing to our growth we are like those in their cups, and youth is pleasant; but the melancholic are in want and desire.' The point then would be that it is just the constant change and *ἀνατλήσωσις* of our growing years that make them pleasant; and this would accord with the general theory of the ch. In describing this turbulent tide of growth Aristotle may have been thinking of Plato's *Timaeus* 43 B.

J. SOLOMON.

#### CRITICAL NOTES ON THE REPUBLIC OF PLATO.

In publishing the following notes, which must from their number be brief, I think it may be well to premise

(1) that I pass over all passages as to which, though they are in my judgment unsound, I have no definite suggestion to make;

(2) that, where what I think the true reading is already to my knowledge offered by any MS., adopted by any editor, or proposed by any scholar, I say nothing about it, as a rule, because the information is easily accessible;

(3) that, where I dissent from the explanations of others, I abstain as a rule from stating and discussing them, not out of disrespect to scholars living or dead, but from a desire for brevity and because any one can consult their books;

(4) that for the same reasons I am not careful to indicate minutely the reported readings of MSS.

I have had before me two of Ast's editions (1814 and 1822), and those of Schneider (1830), Stalbaum (1858), C. F. Hermann (1862), Baiter (1874), and Warren (Books i.-v., 1888), though I have not studied Ast and Schneider throughout. Ast's invaluable Platonic Lexicon has not only preserved me from some errors, but sometimes helped me to positive suggestions.

330 A. οὐτ' ἀν ὁ ἐπιεικῆς πάνυ τι ῥαδῖως γῆρας μετὰ πενίας ἐνέγκου οὐθ' ὁ μὴ ἐπιεικῆς πλούτησας εὔκολός ποτ' ἀν ἑαυτῷ γένοιτο. Πότερον δέ, ἢν δ' ἔγω, ὡς Κέφαλε, ὡν κέκτησαι τὰ πλεῖα παρέλαβες ἢ ἐπεκτήσω; Ποι ἐπεκτησάμην, ἔφη, ὡς Σώκρατες; μέσος τις γέγονα χρηματιστῆς κ.τ.λ.

In the first sentence for *εὔκολος... ἑαυτῷ* (a very doubtful expression) read *εὔκολος... ἐν αὐτῷ*. Some mention of old age seems required in the clause: otherwise the statement is too general.

Ηοτὲ ἐπεκτησάμην is bad grammar and, as commonly understood, bad sense. Derision would be quite out of place, for C. goes on to admit he has made money. Ηοτὲ (for which Paris A has *ποι*) looks like a corruption of *πότερον*—'Do you ask whether?'

330 C. χαλεποὶ οὖν καὶ ἔνγγεισθαι εἰσίν. Probably we should read *ἔνγγιγ(γ)νεσθαι* both here and in *Apol.* 41 A, for the present tense of this verb is habitually used to express prolonged intercourse.

330 E. καὶ αὐτὸς ἡτοι ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ γῆρας ἀσθενείας ἡ καὶ ὕσπερ ἥδη ἐγγυτέρῳ ὥν τῶν ἔκει μᾶλλον καθορᾶ αὐτά. The weakness of age could hardly enable a man to descry more correctly what is to follow after death (*τὰ ἔκει*). We must suppose a word or two to have been lost, probably after *ἀσθενείας*, in which the real effect of failing powers was expressed.

333 B. Ἀλλ' εἰς τίνα δὴ κοινωνίαν ὁ δίκαιος ἀμείνων κοινωνὸς τοῦ κιθαριστικοῦ, ὕσπερ ὁ κιθαριστικὸς τοῦ δικαίου εἰς κρουμάτων; Εἰς ἀργυρίου, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ.

Εἰς κρουμάτων and εἰς ἀργυρίου forcibly suggest that we should read εἰς τίνος.

335 A. κελεύεις δὴ ημᾶς προσθέναι τῷ δικαίῳ ἡ ὡς τὸ πρώτον ἐλέγομεν, λέγοντες..., νῦν πρὸς τούτῳ ὥδε λέγεν...;

Several editors omit ἡ. Read perhaps <*πλέον*> ἡ ὡς.

337 A. εἴ τις τι σε ἐρωτᾷ. The mood of the verb is inconsistent with the context. We need an optative, probably *ἔροιτο*.

337 D. τι οὖν, ἔφη, ἀντὶ ἡγώ δείξω ἐτέραν ἀπόκρισιν παρὰ πάσας ταύτας περὶ δικαιοσύνης βελτίω τούτων;

Perhaps παρὰ πάσας <οὖσαν> ταύτας.

347 D. ὥστε πᾶς ἄν ὁ γυργώσκων τὸ ὑφελεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἀλιτοῦ ἵπ' ἄλλον ἢ ἄλλον ὑφελῶν πράγματα ἔχειν.

Tό is seldom or never added to the infinitive in this construction and is especially awkward when added to one infinitive and not to the other. Omit it here.

362 C. φασίν...τῷ ἀδίκῳ παρεσκενάσθαι τὸν βίον ἄμεινον ἢ τῷ δικαίῳ.

Read ἀμείνον' ορ ἀμείνονα.

364 B. ὃς ἄρα καὶ θεοὶ πολλοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς δυστυχίας τε καὶ βίου κακὸν ἔνειμαν, τοῖς δὲ ἐναρτίοις ἐναρτίαν μοῖραν. This, as it stands, seems to say that bad men (οἱ ἐναρτίοις) as a body, all bad men, are prosperous. Is not πολλοῖς a running together of πολλάκις τοῖς? πολλάκις then qualifies both clauses.

366 A. δίκαιοι μὲν γάρ ὅτες ἀζήμυοι ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐσόμεθα...ἀδικοὶ δὲ κερδανοῦμεν τε καὶ λισσόμενοι ὑπερβάνοντες καὶ ἀμαρτάνοντες πείθοντες αὐτοὺς ἀζήμυοι ἀπαλλάξομεν.

Plato is fond of accumulating participles, but the accumulation here is very confused. Surely Plato wrote κερδανοῦμέν τε ὑπερβάνοντες καὶ ἀμαρτάνοντες καὶ λισσόμενοι πείθοντες αὐτοὺς ἀζήμυοι ἀπαλλάξομεν.

366 E. οὐδέποτε πώποτε ἐψεξεν ἀδικιάν οἴδ'

ἐπῆστε δικαιοσύνην ἄλλως ἢ δόξας τε καὶ τιμᾶς

καὶ δορέας τὰς ἀπ' αὐτῆς γιγνομένας.

Insert διά before δόξαν. Cf. διὰ δόξαν 358 A.

369 D. ἢ καὶ σκυτοτόμον αὐτόσε προσθήσομεν; προστιθέναι here is not a verb of motion and cannot, I think, take αὐτόσε. Read αὐτοῖς, as in 370 D just below εἰ αὐτοῖς... προσθέμεν.

372 E. εἰ δὲ ἀντὶ βούλεσθε καὶ φλεγμαίνονταν πόλιν θεωρήσωμεν, οὐδὲν ἀποκαλύνει.

Though βούλει or βούλεσθε in a directly interrogative sense is often followed by a verb in the subjunctive (βούλει, βούλεσθε

ἴωμεν; etc.) there would appear to be no other example of such a construction as we have here, where βούλεσθε depends on a conjunction. In βούλει ἰωμεν; the ἰωμεν is really itself deliberative and interrogative; the βούλει is only added to it by a sort of brevity of expression, and in no way governs it or causes it to be in the subjunctive. Εἰ βούλεσθε θεωρήσωμεν would be an entirely different construction, very strange in itself, probably unparalleled in Greek, and needing much more support than this passage can give it. It is quite as easy to read εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, καὶ φλεγμαίνονταν πόλιν θεωρήσωμεν οὐδὲν ἀποκαλύνει. No γάρ is needed after οὐδὲν, because οὐδὲν κωλύει or ἀποκαλύνει is a stereotyped expression. Cf. esp. Ag. Eq. 972.

377 A. οὐκοῦν οὐδέν ὅτι ἀρχὴ παντὸς ἔργου μέγιστον, ἄλλος τε καὶ νέων καὶ ἀπαλῷ ὅπων; μάλιστα γάρ δὴ τότε πλάττεται καὶ ἐνδένεται τύπος, ὃν ἄν τις βούληται ἐνσημητράσθαι ἐκάστω.

Read ἐνδένεται τύπον. The subject of πλάττεται and ἐνδένεται is evidently τόνεον. L. and S. give no instance of a real passive ἐνδένεσθαι 'to be put on,' while the middle ἐνδένεσθαι is common.

380 D. τότε μὲν αὐτὸν γιγνόμενον καὶ ἀλλάττοντα τὸ αὐτὸν ἔδος εἰς πολλὰς μορφάς, τότε δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀπατῶντα καὶ ποιοῦντα περὶ αὐτὸν τοιαῦτα δοκεῖν.

Ast and others ἄλλον for αὐτόν. But αὐτόν seems essential to the antithesis. Cf. 381 E 'Αλλ' ἄρα κ.τ.λ.: 382 E οὐτέ αὐτὸς μεθίσταται οὐτέ ἄλλος ἔξαπατά: 383 A. Perhaps Plato wrote τότε μὲν <ἄλλον> αὐτὸν γιγνόμενον.

382 A. ἐαυτὸν would be more strictly grammatical than ἐαυτῶν, but the latter may perhaps be what Plato wrote.

383 A. ὃς μήτε αὐτοὶς γόντας ὄντας...μήτε ἡμᾶς ψεύδει παράγειν.

Terminations (often abbreviated) were so easily corrupted that we ought surely to read παράγοντας. HERBERT RICHARDS.

(To be continued.)

### THUCYDIDES, VIII. 107, 1.

μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἡμέρᾳ τετάρτῃ ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἐπισκενάσαντες τὰς ναῦς οἱ ἐν τῇ Σηστῷ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Κύζικον.

Professor Tucker, in his recent edition, finds a difficulty in the words ὑπὸ σπουδῆς, and has inserted in the text ἀπὸ σπουδῆς. His note is as follows: 'All MSS. give ἵπο,

upon which no commentator has remarked. Thucydides has κατὰ σπουδῆ, i. 93, ii. 90; μετὰ σπουδῆς and διὰ σπουδῆς are also natural expressions, but there is no parallel to this use of ὑπό. Such expressions as ὑπὸ ὄργῆς, ὑπὸ ἡδονῆς, ὑπὸ δέος, are only used when the ὄργη, ἡδονή, δέος is the cause or motive of

the action. In e. 35, 1, all MSS. wrongly give ἀπὸ for ὑπό. If the contrary emendation be made here, we get the well-authenticated ἀπὸ σπουδῆς = σπουδῇ or σπουδαῖς = "they worked with a will." Cf. ἀπὸ τοῦ περιφανοῦς = περιφανῶς (1, 35), ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς (1, 99). Hom. Il. 7, 359, εἰ δὲ ἐτέον δὴ τοῦτον ἀπὸ σπουδῆς ἀγορεύει.

The combination ὑπὸ σπουδῆς is rather rare. Apparently it is not found in Aristophanes, Xenophon, the Orators, Plato, Aristotle, Polybius. But the passage in the eighth book of Thucydides does not stand alone. I have collected the following examples, but do not imagine that the list is complete.

(1) Thuc. 3, 33. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἐποεῖτο τὴν δίωξιν.

(2) Thuc. 5, 66. διὰ βραχείας γὰρ μελλόσεως ἡ παρασκευὴ αὐτοῖς ἔγινετο καὶ εὐθὺς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καθίσταντο ἐς κορμὸν τὸν ἑαυτῶν.

(3) Eur. Hel. 1604. σπουδῆς δὲ ὑπὸ ἔπιπτον οἱ δ' ὠρθοῦντο τὸν δὲ κειμένους νεκροὺς ἀνέλεσε.

(4) Plut. Vit. Romuli, 8. ὅπερ οὖν οἱ παραπόμενοι καὶ μετὰ δέοντος ἡ πρὸς ὅργην πράττοντες ὄτιον ἐπιεικῶς πάσχοντο, συνέπειτε παθεῖν τὸν Ἀμούλιον. ἄνδρα γὰρ ἀλλῃ τε χρηστὸν καὶ τὸν Νομήτορος φίλον ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἐπεμψεν, διαπιθέσθαι τὸν Νομήτορος κελεύσας, εἰ τις ἥκοι λόγος εἰς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν ὡς πέριγενομένων.

(5) Plut. Comp. Thes. et Rom. 5. πλάττει (τις Ἀττικὸς ἀνὴρ) τὸν Αἴγαο τῆς νεώς προσφερομένης ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀνταρέχοντα πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θέας ἔνεκα καὶ σφαλλόμενον καταπεσεῖν.

(6) Plut. Vit. Camilli, 27. ἀρπάσαντες οὖν ὑπὸ σπουδῆς φέτις ἔκαστος ὅπλῳ προσετύχανεν ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ἐβοήθουν.

(7) Plut. Vit. Niciae, 3. τῶν χορῶν... ἀδειν κελευομένων κατ' οὐδένα κόσμον ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀσυντάκτως ἀποβανόντων ἄμα καὶ στεφανουμένων καὶ μεταμφιεννυμένων.

(8) Plut. Vit. Ciceronis, 44. τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ὑπὸ σπουδῆς θέοντας ἰστασθαι περὶ τὸν νεών καὶ τοὺς παιδάς ἐν ταῖς περιπορφύροις καθέζεσθαι σιωπὴν ἔχοντας.

(9) Lucian, Vera Hist. ii. 25. καὶ ἐπειδὴ νῦν ἐγένετο—ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ πατήμην ἐτύγχανον γάρ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ κοιμώμενος—οἱ δὲ λαθόντες τοὺς ἄλλους ἀναλαβόντες τὴν Ἐλένην ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀνίχθησαν.

(10) Aristides, Ιερῶν λόγος, B. I. 485, Dind. (= p. 308, 10, Jebb, p. 544 Cant.). ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ χρισάμενος περιέθεον παρέχων τῷ βορέᾳ ξαῖνεν εὖ καὶ καλῶς, καὶ τελευτῶν προσελθὼν πρὸς τὸ φρέαρ ἀπελουσάμην τῶν δὲ ὅ μεν τις εὐθὺς ἀπεστράφη, ὃ δὲ σπασμῷ τε εἶχετο καὶ κομισθεὶς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς εἰς βαλανεῖον μετὰ πολλῶν πραγμάτων ἐξεθερμαίνετο.

If these sentences be examined it will be seen that the causal notion of ὑπό, which is felt in full force in a sentence like Theop. Char. 25 τὴν σπάθην λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς σπουδῆς ἐπελάθετο, is just perceptible in (4), (6), (7). In (3) Paley translates 'through eagerness in making the attack,' and therefore connects ὑπὸ σπουδῆς with ἔπιπτον only: I think that the phrase qualifies οἱ δ' ὠρθοῦντο also, and is meant to describe the heat and haste of the conflict as a whole; that, in short, the causal notion is effaced. In the remaining passages, (1), (2), (5), (8), (9), (10), the only sense permitted by the context is 'hastily,' 'cum festinatione,' not 'propter festinationem' nor 'prae festinatione.' To correct in these six passages ὑπὸ τὸ ἀπὸ is impossible, since ἀπὸ σπουδῆς, so far as I can trace the phrase, which is not common, means 'seriously,' not 'quickly.' See in addition to Il. 7, 359 (12, 233), quoted by Prof. Tucker, Plut. Quaest. Conv. ix. 4 (740 B) μὴ παῖςων ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σπουδῆς, Amat. 2 (749 F) σκώπτοντες ἐργῳδέστεροι τῶν ἀπὸ σπουδῆς ἐνισταμένων ἤσαν ἀνταγωνισταί. But is there any valid reason for changing ὑπὸ σπουδῆς in all sentences where the action or state expressed by the verb cannot be regarded as the consequence of the σπουδῆ? To lay down that ὑπὸ σπουδῆς τρέχει can only mean 'he is in such a hurry that he runs' is to confine too straitly by logical bonds the easy movements of living speech. The meaning of the phrase shifts according to the nature of the verb and the cast of the sentence, and there are cases, e.g. (6), in which it is hardly possible to determine with certainty the intention of the writer. It must be borne in mind that the influence of a cross-current has to be reckoned with. The history of ὑπὸ with the genitive in Greek might be described as the subjugation or expulsion of rival usages by the tyranny of a popular construction, that of ὑπὸ denoting the agent. Nothing seems more natural than to apply the conception 'under' to express any sort of attendant circumstance. But in classical Greek this application is generally limited to certain external accompaniments of action (see Prof. Jebb on Soph. Trach. 419), and appears only in stereotyped formulae or in turns which evidently follow these familiar fixed phrases such as Plat. Rep. v. 461 A οὐχ ὑπὸ θυσῶν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ εὐχῶν φύεται. Sometimes however this sense meets and mixes with the common use so that, e.g. in τοξεύειν ὑπὸ μαστίγων, πωλεῖν ὑπὸ κύρικος, it is difficult to say which element predominates. This, I think, is a cause which has helped the growth of the idiomatic use of ὑπὸ σπουδῆς: the notions

'under the influence of haste' and 'with haste' are easily fused.

W. WYSE.

THUCYDIDES, VIII. 10.

καταδιώκοντος ἐς Πειραιῶν τῆς Κορυνθίας· ἔστι  
δὲ λιμὴν ἐρήμος καὶ ἔσχατος πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια  
τῆς Ἐπιδαυρίας.

Ptolemy (iii. 16, 12) enumerates the places on the coast between Epidaurus and Cenchreæ in the following order; Ἐπίδαυρος, Σπείραιον ἄκρον, Ἀθηναίων λιμήν, Βουκέφαλος λιμήν, Κεχχρεά. Plin. *H.N.* iv. 9 has: Epidauri oppidum Aesculapii delubro celebre, Spiraeum promontorium, portus Anthedus et Bucephalus, et quas supra dixeramus, Cenchreæ. Bloomfield wished to identify the place mentioned by Thucydides here and in cc. 11. 4, 5, 14. 2, 15. 2, 20 with Ptolemy's Ἀθηναίων λιμήν, K. O. Müller on the other hand proposed ἐς Σπείραιον. This conjecture, so far as I can trace, has not been admitted into any text, but it has been confirmed by

an inscription discovered at Epidaurus in 1886 and published in Ἑφ. Ἀρχ. 1887, p. 11, Collitz, *Sammlung d. Dialektinschr.* n. 3025, *Recueil des Inscriptions Juridiques Grecques* p. 342: I quote from the last work. The inscription is placed between 242/1 and 234/3 B.C., and contains a judgment settling a dispute between Corinth and Epidaurus touching the possession of certain border lands. The opening words (after the date) are: κατὰ τὰδε ἔκριναν τοὶ Μεγαρεῖς τοὺς [Ἐπί]δαυρούς καὶ Κορυνθίους περὶ τᾶς χώρας ἡς ἀμφελέγοντο καὶ [περὶ] τοῦ Σελλανίου[ν] καὶ τοῦ Σπιραιού: ep. I. 17 τὸν κορυφὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τᾶς ὕδον τᾶς ἀμαξιτοῦ [τᾶς κα]ταγούντας ἐπὶ τῷ Σπιραιού. This evidence disposes finally of the Πειραιὸς of Stephanus Byzantius, which Poppe accepts, and clears up an old confusion: there was indeed a Πειραιός in the Corinthian territory but it was on the Crissaean gulf, in the neighbourhood of τὸ Ἡραῖον and Οἰνόν (Xen. *Hell.* iv. 5, 1, 3, 5).

W. WYSE.

THE ELISION OF THE DATIVE IOTA IN ATTIC TRAGEDY.

It is the general practice of scholars, when a rule has been observed, to correct all exceptions to it. This method is however suspicious when applied to the by no means regular usage of the poets. Aeschylus has but a single example of the final optative with ἀν, yet this, as 'an archaism and therefore part of the literary style,' has appeared in every text from Vettori to Verrall without a single attempt being made to oust it. Yet when our MSS. offer us, in some half-dozen passages of the Tragedians, the elision of the dative ι of the third declension, an archaism which these poets might have used as well as many another, the critics at once endeavour to get rid of it by all means. But by what logic is the one admitted and the other denied? Which is the more reasonable assumption, that our copyists have preserved the true reading, or that on several occasions they have either by miraculous blunder or out of their extensive Homeric knowledge introduced an archaism into the 'regular' dialect of the Athenian poets? I believe it is an established fact that the copyists have more often changed what was rare into what was common than *vice versa*.

So much by way of prelude. Let us now examine the single passages as they are

corrected. In Eur. *Alc.* 1118 the MS. reading is καὶ δὴ προτείνω, Γοργόν' ὡς καρατόμῳ, with which no fault has been found but that of the elided dative ι. Hence Lobeck wrote καρατομῷ, which is in reality ridiculous, for Perseus was a model of courage, and when the Choephoroe would urge Orestes to 'accomplish the baneful woe,' it is the spirit of Perseus they bid him to uplift in his heart. In Soph. *Oed.* Col. 1435 sq. σφῶν δὲ εὐ διδοῖ Ζεύς, τάδε εἰ τελέτε μοι θανόντι: ἐπεὶ οὐ μοι ζῶντι γέ αὖθις ἔξετον, I think that the position of the word θανόντι adds to its force and pathos, and that it is only on this word that the words ἐπεὶ οὐ κ.τ.λ. can follow, if they are to make any impression. Sophocles, I believe, knew his art and understood the power that lies in cunning arrangement of words better than to write τάδε εἰ θανόντι μοι τελεῖτο: ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ., and if he did so write, then I fail to see how the passage was 'corrupted.' The error is as hard to trace in *Trach.* 675 if Sophocles there wrote ἀργῆς οἴος εὐείρον πόκος, and not, as the MS. gives, ἀργῆτος οἴος εὐείρω πόκῳ. Euripides in a fragment of the *Aeolus* (fr. 21 Nauk.) has ἦ μη γὰρ ἔστι τῷ πένηθος πλούσιος δίδωσι: Erfurdt would write τῷ πένητι πλούσιος, yet the article seems re-

quired before πλούσιος as much as before πένητι, and so Euripides has written in the words immediately following, ἀ δ' οἱ πλοι-  
τοῦντες οὐ κεκτήμεθα, τοῖσιν πένησι χρόμενοι  
τιμώμεθα.

Another passage is *Suppl.* 6 *sqq.*

οὐτω' ἐφ' αἰματι δημηλασίαι  
ψῆφῳ πόλεως γνωσθεῖσαι.

So the MS. 'Editors agree,' says Prof. Tucker, 'in reading δημηλασίαι, since οὐτω' = οὐτω' is an impossible elision, and γνωσθεῖσαι with dative equally impossible.' But, as he goes on to show, γνωσθεῖσαι cannot stand with the accusative as equal to καταγνωσθεῖσαι, and change to δημηλασίαι demands further change to γνωσθεῖσαν. Yet the MS. really offers the dative δημηλασίαι γνωσθεῖσα, for the accentuation is of no importance; a scribe would be more likely to interpret ΓΝΩΣΘΕΙΣΑΙ as nominative plural than as dative singular. And I believe that Aeschylus wrote a dative here, and in the corrupt v. 8; for no one with an ear for rhythm—and Aeschylus had a very good ear—could endure such a sequence of accusatives as χθόνα σύχορτον...δημηλασίαι γνωσθεῖσαν...αὐτογενὴ φυξανορίαν...γάμον...ἀσεβὴ διάνοιαν (or whatever accusative was lost in v. 10) all within the narrow compass of six anapaestic lines: whereas on the contrary the two accusatives γάμον and διάνοιαν are well balanced by the two datives δημηλασίαι and φυξανορία. It is amusing to observe how the editors, after testifying to the 'Homeric thought and diction' of this play, proceed to remove the first trace of Homeric diction they meet.

It may seem presumptuous on my part to deny what so many scholars hold for certain, and to reopen a question regarded as closed; still I cannot but regard this attempt to elevate a general usage into a universal law by 'correction,' at all costs of the contradictory passages, as Porson's most unhappy legacy to his descendants. The sour grapes which our forefathers in philology have eaten are setting our teeth on edge. I could have wished that an abler hand than mine had flung down the gauntlet. Perhaps Dr. Verrall, in that edition of Aeschylus whose speedy completion is to be desired, may investigate this matter more thoroughly than I have done.

C. J. BRENNAN.

#### NOTES ON AESCHYLUS AND EURIPIDES.

*Cho.* 433. For τὸ πᾶν ἀτίμων Dr. Verrall ingeniously wrote ταφὰν ἀτίμων, which Mr.

Sidgwick modified into ταφὰς ἀτίμων. Neither of these is entirely satisfactory, for the first ignores the s of ἀτίμων, the second the ν of τὸ πᾶν. I think we should write ταφέντ' ἀτίμων, which gains confirmation from this, that the poet uses it also in *Theb.* 1012. And Aeschylus is fond of repeating phrases he has once used. Thus the whole verse *Pers.* 813 recurs as *Agam.* 532; θεοὺς τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης *Theb.* 204, *Agam.* 351; *Agam.* 1281 recurs as *Cho.* 1040 with the change of only one word; δαίμονος πειρώμενος *Agam.* 1663, *Cho.* 511; δύσθεος γυνά of Clytaemnestra twice in the *Choephoroi* 45, 523.

*Supp.* 104 *sqq.*

βίαν δ'  
105 οὐτω' ἐξοπλίζει  
τὰν ἄπονον δαμονίων  
ἡμενὸν δὲ φρόνημά πως  
ἀνόθεν ἐξέπραξεν ἔμπτας  
ἔδρυνων ἐφ' ἀγνῶν.

106. ἄπονον M corr. Wellauer, 107 ἄν M, ὃν Paley.

This *locus reccatus* admits of easy interpretation with the admission of only the two slight changes above recorded: 'Zeus uses not that force, unlabouring though it be, of the lesser gods; but his will, seated on its holy throne, accomplishes itself at once in some mysterious way.' Prof. Tucker, who would limit φρόνημα to 'animi, pride proper or improper...high, stubborn, or wicked thought, not simply thought,' forgets that it is used for 'thought' simply, in the widest sense of the word, in Soph. *Ant.* 355. Can we interpret it as 'pride' in *Prom.* 392 οὐτ' ἀν Διὸς φρόνημα λαφύρη χόλον; or in *Cho.* 593; or in Soph. *Ant.* 169; φρόνημα seems to mean *animus* 'courage' in Thuc. ii. 61, and 'disposition' in Plato, *Rep.* ix. 573 B.

*Agam.* 1595. 'καθημένοις (Casaubon) will not pass,' says Dr. Verrall; rightly, if it is taken alone. But if we continue it with Dindorf's ἀσημ'. δ' δ', the passage is cured at small expense, thus

ἔθρυπτ' ἄνωθεν, ἀνδρακὰς καθημένοις  
ἄσημ'. δ' δ' κ.τ.λ.

*Pers.* 148 f. Mr. Housman has rightly impeached τὸ πατρωνύμιον γένος ἡμέτερον, but his conjecture γένος ἡμέτερόν τε πατρωνύμιον is somewhat violent. It saves the transposition and in letters is very near to the MS. to read

τὸ πατρωνύμιον ΤὮ"ΕΘΝΟΣ ἡμέτερον.

Eur.  
L give

111  
The

Reiske

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Αἴσχυλο

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SOPH.

ώς τα

ζώσα

Think

interpre

long nota

EMEND.

Or. 15

τὸν ικανὸν

Read e

in γέγενη

ει to ἔαν.

Euripides, *Iph. Taur.* 1117 *sqq.* The MS. L gives

ζηλοῦσ' ἄταν διὰ παν-  
τὸς δυσδαιμονίου· ἐν γὰρ ἀνάγκαις  
οὐ κάμνεις κ.τ.λ.

1117 ζητοῦσ' P.

The editors generally write κάμνει with Reiske, and in 1117 ζηλῶ δὲ τὸν or something such, thus obliterating all traces of the true

reading. The vestiges preserved in the MS. point to something like this

ζηλῶ σε τὸν διὰ παν-  
τὸς δυσδαιμονίου· ἐν γὰρ ἀνάγκαις  
οὐ κάμνεις σύντροφος ὁν  
τῷ πάλαι δυσδαιμονίᾳ.

So Badham for μεταβάλλει δυσδαιμονίᾳ.

C. J. BRENNAN.

### VARIA.

AESCH. *Ag.* 1327.

ἴω βρότεια πράγματ' εἰτυχοῦντα μὲν  
σκάτης τις ἀντρέψειν εἰ δὲ δυστυχῆ,  
βολαῖς ὑγρώσσων σπόγγος ὠλεσεν γραφήν.  
ἀντρέψειν Porson. σκάτης τις ἀντρέψειν  
Boissonade and various edd. since, trusting  
to the gloss of Photius: πρέψαι τὸ ὄμοιωσαν  
Αἰσχύλος. It is however very unlikely that  
πρέψειν should have had the active meaning  
of ὄμοιον, and Photius' gloss is much too  
late to carry any great authority. The word  
γραφήν in line 1329 leads us to believe that  
Aeschylus wrote σκάτης τις ἀντρέψειν. γραφήν  
almost demands something of the kind to  
precede it. As Plato speaks of a σκιαγραφία  
ἀρετῆς and ἡδονὴ ἐσκιαγραφημένη, so Aeschylus  
here of what we may call a εὐτυχία ἐσκια-  
γραφημένη. Since thinking of this, I find  
from the note of Wecklein (who himself reads  
σκάτης τις ἀντρέψειν with Porson) that Rauchen-  
stein has already suggested σκιάν τις ἀντ-  
ρέψειν. It seems however worth while to  
repeat the suggestion, as it has perhaps not  
received due attention.

SOPH. *Oed. Tyr.* 44.

ὅς τοῖσιν ἐμπείρουσι καὶ τὰς ἔμμορὰς  
ζώσας δρῦ μάλιστα τῶν βούλευμάτων.

Thinking unsatisfactory both the common  
interpretation of this passage (defended in a  
long note by Prof. Jebb) and that adopted

by Shilleto, Kennedy, etc., I venture to  
suggest that Sophocles really wrote

ὅς τοῖσιν ἐμπείρουσι καὶ τὰς ἔμμορὰς  
ζώσας δρῦ μάλιστα τῶν βούλευμάτων.

Cf. [Menandri] Γνῶμαι Μονόστιχοι 685  
νικᾶ λογισμῷ τὴν παροῦσαν συμφοράν.

THUC. 2, 40, 3 ἐν τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκείων ὅμα  
καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια, καὶ ἐτέρους πρὸς ἔργα  
τετραμένους τὰ πολιτικὰ μὴ ἐνδεώς γνῶναι.  
For ἐτέροις, which is certainly obscure, ἐτέρα  
and ἐτέροια have been proposed. I would  
suggest ἐτέρα ἐτέροις or ἐτέροις ἐτέρα.  
Thucydides seems not to use elsewhere this  
double ἐτέρος, for expressions like 2, 51, 4  
ἐτέρος ἀφ' ἐτέρου θεραπείας ἀναπιπλάμενοι =  
ἀπ' ἀλλήλων are different: but it is by no  
means uncommon in Greek, e.g. Eur. *Alc.*  
συμφορὰ δ' ἐτέρους ἐτέρου πιέζει: Aristot. *Pol.*  
1, 8, 7 (1256 a 35) οἱ δ' ἀπὸ θύρας ζῶσι καὶ  
θύρας ἐτέροις ἐτέρας. In *Pol.* iv. 9, 5 (1329 a  
5) πότεροι ἐτέρα καὶ ταῦτα θετέον ἢ τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
ἀποδοτέον ἄμφω editors have assumed a  
similar omission and proposed to read ἐτέροις  
ἐτέρα.

ARISTOT. *Eth. Nicom.* ii. 9, 4 (1108 b 34)  
τοῦ μέσου τυχεῖν ἄκρως χαλεπόν. Read  
ἄκριβῶς. You can hit the mean exactly, but  
you cannot hit it in the highest degree.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

### EMENDATIONS IN LYSIAS.

Or. 15, 5 σκέψασθε δέ, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί,  
ἴαν ικανὸν γένηται κτέ.

Read εἰ—γέγενηται. The omission of γε-  
in γέγενηται may have led to the change of  
εἰ to οἴν.

Or. 18, 1 ἐνθυμήθητε—οἵοι τινες ὄντες πολι-  
ται καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὁν προσήκοντες κτέ.

Read οἱ προσήκοντες. The καὶ—καὶ form  
a correlation, 'both ourselves and our  
relations.' Possible corruption from καὶ  
τῶν δικαίων just below?

*Or.* 19, 25—καὶ λαβεῖν ἑκκαΐδεκα μνᾶς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἀν (ὡς ἄσ C, ἄσ Scheibe) ἔχοι ἀναλίσκειν εἰς τὰ τῆς τριηράρχιας.

—‘and to get sixteen minas on it (the φιάλη), which (adopting Scheibe's ἄσ) he (Demos) had to spend (!) on the details of the trierarchy.’ Would it not be better to write ὡς ἔδει ἀναλίσκειν? Can we parallel exactly ἔχω with the infin. in the sense of ‘have to = ‘be obliged to’? “Ἐχω ἀναλίσκειν would naturally mean either ‘I am able to spend’ (= δύναμαι ἀ.), or, rarely, ‘I know how to spend’ (= ἐπισταμαι ἀ.: Soph. *Ant.* 270 *sqq.*, cf. the noteworthy expression in Soph. *O.T.* 119 where there seems to be confusion both of language and of thought). The ease with which ΕΔΕΙ could become ΕΧΟΙ needs no comment.

*Or.* 23, 14 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερήμερος ἐγένετο, ἔξετο τὴν δίκην, καθότι ἐπειθε.

For ἐπειθε read ἐπειθή, ‘was assessed, or imposed.’

*Or.* 31, 24 Τί οὖν βουληθέντες ἴμεις τοῦτον δοκιμάσατε. Add the necessary ἀν after οὖν; it might easily have been omitted in such a position.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

\* \*

Πάιμα, πῆμα.

Roberts (*Gk. Epig.* p. 48) says of the inscription Γόρτυνος τὸ πάιμα on an ancient coin of Gortyn in Crete that ‘no satisfactory explanation has been offered of the word πάιμα,’ though ‘it has been suggested [see the references *ad loc. cit.*] that πάιμα: πάιω : : κόρμα (coin) : κόπτω.’ May we not see a support of this view in the oracle in Hdt. 1, 67, in which καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμα’ ἐπὶ πήματι κεῖται is understood as referring in τύπος ἀντίτυπος to hammer and anvil, and in πῆμα’ ἐπὶ πήματι κεῖται to a suffering thing laid ready to produce suffering (τὸν δὲ ἔξελανόμενον σιδηρὸν τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πήματι κείμενον, κατὰ τούνδε τι εἰκάζων, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῶν ἀνθρώπον σιδηρὸν ἀνείρηται)? That is, may we not prefer to this, in part, forced interpretation of the oracle, taken down we must remember by ear, the following explanation? The general interpretation is correct, but the words πῆμα’ ἐπὶ πήματι κεῖται are to be understood as πῆμα’ ἐπὶ πήματι κεῖται, in which the preposition ἐπὶ has its normal sense, and this second half of the verse becomes but another expression for the former, which in turn should be slightly corrected to what I believe to have been its original form.

Thus we read:—

καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυποι, καὶ πῆμα’ ἐπὶ πήματι κεῖται.

Ἐπὶ is, of course, to be understood with ἀντίτυποι, and πῆμα is used first actively (instrument of striking), then passively (result of striking, object struck). Such ambiguity in the pronunciation of oracles as is assumed above may be illustrated by the *locus classicus* in Thucydides (4, 54, 2–3) concerning the oracle

ἥξει Δωριακὸς πόλεμος καὶ { λοιμὸς } ἢ { λιμὸς } ἄμφων.

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

\* \*

XEN. *Hellen.* I. i. (28).

εἰ δέ τις ἐπικαλοίη τι αὐτοῖς, λόγον ἔφασαν χρῆναι διδόναι,...

Professor Manatt in his edition of the first four books of the *Hellenica* (Classical Series of Greek Authors) remarks (following Büchsenschütz): ‘Two interpretations are possible: (1) if any one here in the army should lay aught to our charge, they must give us a hearing; or (2) if any one &c., we ought to give an account. Against (1) is the outspoken sympathy of the men, which would leave no room for such....a demand on the part of the generals; against (2) the fact that the generals....were under no obligations to make a defence.’

But why are the interpretations limited to this alternative? This is obviously an indirect statement, so that ἐπικαλοίη may represent ἐπικαλῆ. The sense would then be ‘If any one has (as possibly he may) any charge to bring against us, they ought to give us a hearing.’ I see nothing in these words to imply that τις is limited to ‘any one here in the army.’ It is entirely supposable that the speaker refers—if not chiefly, at least incidentally—to the unjust treatment of the Syracusan generals, whereby *some one* at home had procured their banishment, without giving them a chance to defend themselves. Or, making τις refer to some one of the soldiers present, Professor Manatt’s objection does not seem valid, inasmuch as, in spite of the strong expression of approval implied in the previous ἀναβοήσατε, there was abundant room for the presence of a small body of malcontents, unnoticed in the shouts of the overwhelming majority. To give an opportunity for any such, even though but one, to state his complaints, the speaker may have used the above words. Moreover, the

opening words of the following section—οὐδένος δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαιτιωμένου— seem to point to this latter meaning.

Prof. Manatt holds further that the clause μεμημένους—ὑπάρχοντας ‘has no perceptible connection with the foregoing’ and closes in the following words: ‘The traditional arrangement is retained in this edition for the reason that no emendation yet proposed seems quite to cure or clear up the passage’; but, with either of the above suggestions, this clause has a most evident connection, and there is no necessity for rearranging the order with Dindorf and others, the idea being that the parties—whether at home or in the army—could not fail to retain a vivid impression of the victories won under the banished generals.

WILLIAM J. SEELYE.

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MARC. ANT. 4, 33. αἱ πάλαι συνήθεις λέξεις γλωσσήματα νῦν οὔτως οὖν καὶ τὰ οὐδόματα τῶν πάλαι πολυνυνήτων νῦν τρόπον τινὰ γλωσσήματά ἔστι, Κάμιλλος, Καίσων, Οὐδόλεσος, Λεοννάτος, κατ’ ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ Σκιτίων καὶ Κάτων, εἴτα καὶ Αὐγούστος, εἴτα καὶ Ἀδριανὸς καὶ Ἀιτωνίδος. The appearance of a second-rate Macedonian, Leonnatus, in a list of Roman worthies must have excited the surprise of Marcus’ readers before now, but I do not know if any correction has been proposed. May not Λεοννάτος be a corruption of Δευτάτος?

W. WYSE.

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In an article on the use of προδανεῖζεν (*Cl. Rev.* VI. p. 256) I argued that προδανεισταὶ might mean ‘persons who borrow for another,’ although I was unable to produce an example of δανειστής in the sense of ‘borrower.’ The new volume of the *Recueil des Inscriptions Juridiques Grecques* furnishes the missing evidence and completes the proof. See the inscriptions on p. 313, xv. A. 3 *sgg.* Πραξικῆς Πολυμηνῆτον ἐδάνεισεν τῇ πόλει τῇ Ἀρκεσινέων ἀργύριον Ἀττικοῦ τρία τάλαντα.....δανειστῶν ἐλθόντων δαμοσίαι Πρωτομάχον καὶ Διο...ον κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα δὲ εἰπε Στ[ησα]γόρας, on p. 316, xv. B. 1. 6 δανειστῶν αἰρεθέντων, on p. 320, xv. C. 1. 4 δανειστῶν ἐλθόντων ἐξ Ἀρκεσινῆς. The editors translate the word by ‘commissaires de l’emprunt.’ The common use of δανειστής is seen on p. 322, xv. D. (1), 1. 9 ἀποδώσοντι δὲ Ἀρκεσινέος τὸν τόκον κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν τοῖς δανεισταῖς.....αἱ δὲ κα μὴ λῶνται τοὶ δανεισαντες κομίσασθαι τὸν [τόκον] κ.τ.λ.

W. WYSE.

#### TIMOCREON 1, 12.

In the last *Classical Review* Mr. Walter Headlam approves of ὥραν, the conjecture of Ahrens, on the verse of δὲ ησθον κηδυοτο μὴ ὥραν Θεμιστοκλέος γενέσθαι. The phrase ὥραν γενέσθαι τινὸς is, as he shows, quite correct for rationem haberi alicuius. But is it not far too weak? Does not the meaning seem to be ‘they drank confusion to Themistocles,’ that is ‘while they feasted they cursed him’? It was this feeling which emboldened me to make a suggestion in the last *Hermathena* that we have here a curious modification of the phrase δὲ μὴ ὥρασι used in imprecations: δὲ μὴ ὥρασι Θεμιστοκλέης would mean ‘the cursed Themistocles.’ Could not then ηχοντο μὴ ὥραν γενέσθαι Θεμιστοκλέος be another form of the phrase ηχοντο μὴ ὥρασι γενέσθαι Θεμιστοκλέα? The hiatus between μὴ and ὥραν adds probability to the theory that the phrase is a modification of the familiar δὲ μὴ ὥρασι, in which μὴ always resists elision and preserves the long quantity of the vowel. I do not see how the hiatus could be accounted for otherwise. The imprecation had probably a real (but certainly a supposed) connection with ὥρα; and this would have helped the modification of the phrase which I suggest.

R. Y. TYRELL.

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PLAUTUS.—*Amph.* 1, 1, 26–30:

Sos. Sum vero verna verbero: numero mihi  
in mentem fuit  
dis advenientem gratias pro meritis  
atque alloqui.  
Ne illi edepol si merito meo referre  
studeant gratiam,  
aliquem hominem allegent qui mihi  
advenienti os occillet probe,  
quoniam bene quae in me fecerant  
ingrata ea habui atque irrita.

I cannot satisfy myself that Prof. Palmer’s interpretation of this passage is correct, for if *numero* be taken with him as = *too soon*, verse 30 seems to me to contradict verse 26. A translation will make this clear. ‘Verily I am a vile wretch (because) I rendered thanks *too soon* on my arrival to the gods. Surely if they should wish to repay me as I deserve, they would commission some one to drub me finely when I come (to the house), because I have shown no thanks (so Prof. Palmer himself translates in his note) for their kindness to me and have made that kindness of none avail.’ The interpretation of the whole passage turns, I think, upon the meaning assigned

to *numero*. That this word does not of necessity signify *too soon* may be seen 1. from its etymology: literally, *numero* = harmoniously, in good tune or time, *opportune*; 2. from the fact that, according to Lewis and Short, *nimis* is added to *numero* in two passages at least to give the sense of *too soon*. The transition of *numero* from its proper signification to the meaning *too soon* is illustrated by the similar history of *mature*. I would suggest that *numero* be taken here as = 'opportunely, in the nick of time, before it is too late' = practically, 'just this moment.' Then translate: 'Verily I am a vile rascal, because only at the eleventh hour have I thought of thanking the gods,' literally 'because I have thought of thanking the gods (only) just in time.' The offence which constitutes him a *verna verbero* is precisely this failure to render the customary thanks on landing after a sea voyage. For the custom of giving such thanks, cf. *Trin.* 4, 1, 1 *sqq.*; *Stich.* 3, 1, 1 *sqq.* With my interpretation I believe verses 29, 30 to be not only entirely consistent, but also full of dramatic significance, for in them Sosia declares himself worthy of special punishment for his ingratitude to the gods. When therefore in the sequel Mercury does drub him, the spectators feel that, according to his own confession, he is merely getting what he deserves, and the scene is in consequence freed from that impression of malignity and unfairness which the pitting of a god against a mortal would otherwise be likely to convey. In conclusion, let me say that I am the more inclined to the view outlined above because Prof. Palmer in his critical note tells us that, though inclined to read *verberorum in numero*, he once held a similar view himself of the implication in *mihi in mentem fuit*.

*Amph.* 1, 1, 187:

MERC. Quo ambulas tu, qui Volcanum in  
cornu conclusum geris?

Prof. Palmer comments on the 'bombastic grandiloquence' of these words. They may be well illustrated by Pl. *Men.* 2, 2, 54—55, where Culindrus the cook says to Menaechmus

Ire hercle meliust te interim atque accum-  
bere  
Dum ego haec appono ad Volcani vio-  
lentiam.

CHARLES KNAPP.

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PROPERTIUS, II. 33, 21 (III. 25, 21).  
 21. At tu, quae nostro nimium placata dolore  
es,  
 22. noctibus his vacui ter faciamus iter.  
 23. Non audis, et verba sinis mea ludere,  
cum iam  
 24. flectant Icarii sidera tarda boves.

This is the reading of all the MSS., and the common punctuation. Hertzberg marks a lacuna after 22. Paley supposes aposiopesis after 'at tu,' and translates 'noct. his vacui' as 'when the period of abstinence shall be over'; 'ter,' because such abstinence is a good pretext for frequent renewal. The difficulties in the way of hammering out sense are obvious. I would make the following suggestions.

i. *placata es*. Heins, foll. by Lachm., reads 'implacata,' which at first blush seems necessary to the sense. Markl., foll. by Baehr, conjectured 'pacata.' Pal. tentatively offers 'placanda,' and Hertzbg. inclines to alter 'nimium' to 'nunc iam.' May we not keep the text, translating 'thou hast been besought, supplicated'? Cp. Hor. 2 *Od.* xiv. 6. non si trecentis... places... *Plutona tauris* = try to appease, and Prop. 1. 17, 7 nullane *placatae* veniet Fortuna procellae.

ii. *At tu* has no consequence, and 'ter' is very lame. Scal. proposes 'reficiamus,' Burm. 'perficiamus.' *Noctibus his vacuiter faciamus iter* tells its own tale. The copyist, having the end of the line in his mind, mechanically completed the 'i' with 'ter' by the influence of 'iter' to come. The first 'ter' has therefore displaced some conjunction going with 'faciamus,' probably 'cum' = though, or the while that. Delete full-stop at end of (22), and render 'vacui' not 'freed from,' but 'lonely, empty.' Read therefore :

At tu, quae nimium nostro placata dolore es,  
noctibus his vacui cum faciamus iter,  
non audis....

and translate: But thou, besought by our grief so much, though we make our pilgrimage in these nights of loneliness, art deaf, and lettest our words go idly, till now the team of Icarus slope their slow stars.

This incidentally shatters the fabric of Voigt's contention that the much-vexed 'tres libelli' of ii. 13, 25 may mean 'two or three, a few elegies.' Plessis (*Études sur Properce*, p. 108) quotes the view as 'acceptable,' and supports this use of 'tres' by six instances. Of these, two (iii. 7, 6 and iii. 12, 15), where the formula is 'ter quater,'

are outside of the argument. Of the rest, i. 16, 13, 'has mihi ter,' is Hertz's very unlikely emendation of the MSS. 'has inter'; iv. 6, 75, 'terque lavet,' is used in a ceremonial sense 'comme nombre sacré'; and iv. 13, 26, 'iugera terna,' is held by Niebuhr to be literally and historically 'three.' The last is the present passage, which leaves the problem of 'tres pompa libelli' still to be solved.

Prop. i. 7, 5, nos, ut consuemus, nostros etc. For the unique form 'consuemus' read 'consuetum est (consuetumst.)'

In i. 21, 5-6, a much-teased couplet, read with N

Sic te servato ut possint gaudere parentes  
nec soror acta tuis sentiat e lacrimis,

and take 'e tuis lacr.' as 'from the tears shed for thee,' translating: So save thyself that thy parents may have cause for joy, and my sister may not feel (have a presentiment of) what has happened from the mourning for thee [but rather may have definite tidings, sciat (10), of my death, and its method, not be left to guess it from thy analogous fate].

In ii. 20, 8 (iii. 11, 8), for 'lacrimas,' which Hertz fails to defend as object of the intr. 'defluit,' read 'lacrimans.'

L. M.

\* \*

JUV. Sat. viii. 247 frangebat vertice vitem. Bücheler says of this 'frangit fustem qui percutit et pulsat non qui patitur verbera.' In addition to the other arguments given against this by Prof. Mayor (*Journ. of Phil.* vol. xx. p. 290), and his citation of *Sat.* vi. 479 'hic frangit ferulas, rubet illa flagello,' a passage of Tertullian may be mentioned (*Apol.* c. 6) in which he

uses the expression 'flagra rumpentium' for slaves. Comp. *Sat.* v. 172-3.

E. G. HARDY.

\* \*

AUSES.—That an adequate *onomasticon*, either Greek or Latin, does not yet exist, appears from the neglect of this name, which, in the form Αὔση, Ause, is found in the LXX, and the Lyons Old Latin, Numbers ch. 13 verses 9 and 17. Many patristic authorities, Greek and Latin, are cited in the Apostolic Fathers of Cotelier (Antv. 1698, I pp. 40, 41, 64). See also Cornelius a Lapide on Num. 13 17, Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed*, p. 70 ed. 1669 (=pp. 132-3 ed. Cambr. 1882), Valesius on Eus. h. e. I 3 § 4, Otto on Iustin dial. c. Tryph. 75 p. 300 c. Add Cypriani Galli heptateuchus Exod. 1323-4 (=1265-6) *aedibus in Domini semper se condidit Auses | nusquam progrediens*; id. Jesu Nave 182-3 *quem comitata serum confestim turba maerentrum | supplicat, innocuis dum poscit uocibus Auses*. In both places Pitca wrongly read *aures*, which in Joshua is the actual reading of the Laon MSS. In Exod. 1201 (=1259) Peiper rightly corrects the *aures* of both the older Laon and the Trinity MSS. into *Auses*. I had (Latin Heptateuch p. 117) overlooked the mention of Joshua in Exod. 32 17.

The biblical dictionaries and most commentaries leave us in the lurch. Pape-Benseler is silent. De-Vit in his *onomasticon* refers to 'Josua,' and there refers back again to 'Jesus,' where (Vol. III p. 305 col. 1 pr.) is a meagre notice in two or three lines. I repeat, *onomastica*, embracing biblical and patristic Greek and Latin, are a crying need of the time.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

#### THE DACTYLO-EPITRITIC RHYTHM.

THE ordinary view taken of this rhythm has long seemed to me fallacious and based upon metrical considerations and traditions incompatible with the musical treatment of the Greek Strophic Ode. I venture therefore to submit a theory of its use which not only exhibits the internal symmetry of the strophic structure in a simple and lucid form, but is also found to be in harmony with established musical practice.

1. The rhythm is composed of two elements, the Dactyl and the Epitrite: e.g.



Metrically viewed the Epitrite is - - - ; but manifestly such a syllabic combination could not rhythmically correspond to a couple of Dactyls, inasmuch as it consists of seven shorts, whereas the two Dactyls are equivalent to eight shorts. Musically therefore the Epitrite is to be represented thus:



This combination is obviously equal to eight quaver-units and is precisely equivalent to



2. Now in scanning Epitritic rhythms the ordinary practice is to divide the Epitrite thus :  -

But the very name implies that the Epitrite is *one* foot, of which the thesis is to the arsis as  $1 : 1\frac{1}{3}$  or  $3 : 4$ . And musical feeling instinctively and imperatively requires that the Epitrite should form a single bar in  $\frac{4}{4}$  time.

Thus the line

*τοῖσι λάμπει μὲν μένος ἀελίον τὰν ἐνθάδε τύκτα κάτω*

will be musically scanned thus :



The musical form of the third bar is determined by the necessity that each bar must be of the same duration.

Again the line

*ἐνθα Σώτερα Διὸς ξενίον*

must be scanned



(I leave a crotchet-rest at the end of the line, but this is arbitrary in the mean time.)

Again the line

*εἰξον ὁ πολλωνὶς ἀμφοτερᾶν τοι χαρίτων*

will assume the musical form

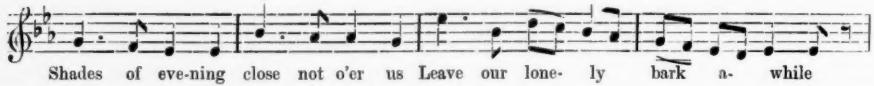


where -*av* is prolonged throughout a bar, as musical symmetry demands.

3. The *hythm* of the Epitritic rhythm is essentially dignified and majestic; and it exhibits the same lofty tone in English music. Thus :



Or again :



These examples, which might be indefinitely multiplied, indicate the elevated character of the rhythm, as also the musical necessity for arranging the rhythm in  $\frac{4}{4}$  time.

4. As in modern music so in Greek rhythm we may have an anacrusis or up-beat. Thus

*tí φίλτερον κεδνῶν τοκέων ἀγαθοῖς*

appears as



Sometimes a seeming Tribrachys occurs in an Epitrite. This Tribrachys is to be regarded as a triplet. Thus

*Φυλακίδα κεῖται Νεμέα δὲ καὶ ἀμφοῖν.*

This is to be musically expressed thus:



5. In illustration of this theory let us take the very fine fragment of Bacchylides on Peace, which Westphal has only imperfectly analysed.

It will be observed that adherence to the principle laid down at once exhibits the internal symmetry of the strophe or poem.

(When there is an anacrusis I deduct it from the last bar.)

I. *τίκτει δέ τε θνατοῖσιν εἰράνα μεγάλα*

*πλοῦτον μελίγλωσσων τ' ἀοιδᾶν ἄνθεα*

II. *δαιδαλέων τ' ἐπὶ βωμῶν θεοῖσιν αἴθεσθαι βοῶν*

*ξανθᾶ φλογὴ μῆτρα τανυτρίχων τε μῆλων*

*γυμνασίων τε νέοις αἰλῶν τε καὶ κώμων μέλειν*

*ἐν δὲ σιδαροδέτοις πόρναξιν αἰθᾶν*

III. *ἀράχ νῦν ἵστοι μέλονται*

*ἔγχεά τε λογχωτὰ ἔιφεά τ' ἀμφάκεα δάμναται εὐρός*

*χαλκέων δ' οὐκ ἔστι σαλπίγγων κτύπος*

IV. *οὐδὲ συλάται μελίφρων ὑπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρων*

*ἀμὸν ὁς θάλπει κέαρ, συμποσίων δὲρατῶν*

*βρίθοντ' ἀγναί, παιδικοι θέμνοι φλέγονται*

The poem is rhythmically to be divided into four sections, and the symmetry, as based on the number of bars, is as follows:

I. 3	II. 4	III. 3	IV. 4
3	3	4	4
.	.	.	
4	3		3 Coda.

3

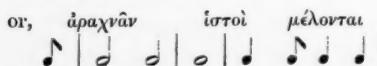
There can be little doubt regarding the musical analysis of the piece except as regards the last line and the seventh. As regards the last line it might possibly be permitted to regard the first syllable *βριθ-* as forming a bar, in which case we would have for Section IV. the response

4
.
4
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4
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But this is not so likely, for the last bar of the previous line, consisting as it does of a single syllable, seems naturally to expect an anacrusis in the following line; and besides a coda is most appropriate at the end of such a long strophe. As regards the seventh line we cannot say whether it should be

*ἀραχνῶν ιστοὶ μέλονται*  


(but it is not so likely that the *a* should be short before *-χ-* in this style of poetry, and the dispersion of an Epitrite over two bars is to be deprecated);

or, *ἀραχνῶν ιστοὶ μέλονται*  


(not so probable, because there seems no equivalent space for the anacrusis). I prefer therefore the form given in the musical analysis.

Those familiar with Greek Rhythmic are aware that kola and verses occur outside of the strophic symmetry. Thus we may have an introductory phrase or sentence of a limited number of bars. This has been called a *pro-ōdikon*. Or we may have such a phrase or sentence intercalated into the strophic structure. This has been called a *mesodikon*. In modern music, it is designated a 'link,' *überleitungssatz*, or codetta according to the context. Lastly we may have a concluding phrase or sentence, which has been called an *epodikon*, and which in modern parlance receives the name of coda. In the subjoined schemes this introduction,

link, or coda will be represented by a small numeral.

If the principles explained above are valid, it must be possible to apply them in such a way as to exhibit the symmetrical structure of the strophe. Isolated examples will not suffice; the induction must be so large and so consistent as to exclude doubt of the validity of the method adopted.

I proceed therefore to give the rhythmical analysis of all the Epitritic Odes of Pindar. A vertical stroke is used to divide the strophe into sections or groups of corresponding verses; and this stroke as well as the dot will in every case mark the end of a verse. If two or more numerals occur without intervening dots, it is to be understood that such numerals indicate the constituent kola of the verse. Thus 222 will mean a verse consisting of three kola of two bars each. It is further to be observed that the analysis proceeds upon a rigorous application of the principles explained above. No 'fantastic tricks' are played with *τονή*, or the arbitrary prolongation of syllables—a desperate and indefensible expedient, which indeed reduces rhythmical analysis to individual caprice. The limiting principle of *τονή* is that a syllable may be prolonged throughout a bar, but no farther.

This analysis affords, I think, a conclusive test of the theory advanced. It may be objected indeed that I have discarded the Canons of Aristoxenus. But it is almost certain that these canons do not apply to Epitritic verse. If they did, then, as the Epitrite belongs to the *τοιού βυθμοί*, for which 16 *πρώτοι χρόνοι* is the maximum extent of a kolon, it would follow that the longest Epitritic kolon consists only of two bars—which seems musically absurd. But space will not allow me at present to discuss this point at any length.

Ol. III. Strophe	5 . 3 . 5	33 . 3
Epoche	4   5 . 5 . 5	3
Ol. VI. S.	4 . 3 . 3 . 4 . 3	5 . 5
E.	5 . 5	4 . 4 . 4 . 4
Ol. VII. S.	4 . 3 . 2 . 6 . 5 . 4	
E.	5 . 4 . 2 . 4 . 2 . 5	22 . 3

*Note.* Our principle here helps the stichometry, for the 3rd verse of the epode must be divided into two verses, of which the first is

- 15. ῥόδον εἰθυμάχαν ὄφρα
- 34. νομὸν, ἔνθα ποτὲ βρέχε
- 53. φέρον. ἦν δὲ κλέος βαθύ
- 72. τέκεν ἐπτὰ, σοφότατα
- 91. ὁδὸν εἴθυντορεῖ σάφα

We thus obtain a flawless symmetry.

<i>Ol. VIII. S.</i>	4   3 . 5 . 3   2 . 2 . 2
E.	3 . 4 . 3   2 . 4 . 2   3 . 3   2

*Note.* Here again the 6th verse of the epode must be divided into two verses, of which the first is

- 20. ἐξένεπε κρατέων
- 42. Πέργαμος ἀμφὶ τεῖαις
- 64. ἐξ ἵερῶν ἀεθλῶν
- 86. εὐχομαι ἀμφὶ καλῶν

And the symmetry is established.

<i>Ol. X. S.</i>	3 . 3   2 . 4 . 2 . 4
E.	3   2 . 2 . 2   3 . 3   2 . 4 . 2 . 4

*Note.* Here again we must divide the 3rd verse of the epode and arrange thus:

τῶν Ἐπιζεφυρίων  
Δοκρῶν γενέαν ἀλέγων.

<i>Ol. XII. S.</i>	3 . 4 . 3   3 . 3   3 . 33
E.	3 . 4 . 3 . 4   3 . 3   5

<i>Pyth. I. S.</i>	4   6 . 3 . 6 . 3   323
E.	4 . 5 . 4   3 . 4 . 3   33   22

<i>Pyth. III. S.</i>	3 . 32 . 2   3 . 3   22   32 . 3
E.	3 . 3   4 . 3 . 4   4 . 4 . 4 . 4

*Note.* The 4th verse of the strophe must be divided and thus arranged:

Οὐρανίδα γόνον εὐρυμέδοντα Κρόνου  
βάσσαισι τ' ἄρχειν Παλίον φῆρ' ἀγρότερον.

<i>Pyth. IV. S.</i>	3 . 33   32 . 3   4 . 4 . 4   2
E.	5 . 5   22   5 . 3 . 3 . 5

*Note.* The second section of the epode (22) might alternatively be regarded as an *überleitungssatz* or 'link.'

<i>Pyth. IX. S.</i>	3 . 3 . 3   4 . 6 . 6 . 4   4
E.	3 . 33   4 . 2 . 4   3 . 3 . 2 . 2   3

*Note* (1). The first bar of the strophe | ἑθλω χαλκ- | is musically



*Note* (2). The 7th verse of the epode must be divided and arranged thus:

βονσίν εἰράναν παρέχοισα πατρώαις  
τὸν δὲ σύγκοιτον γλυκύν.

<i>Pyth. XII. S.</i>	4 . 4 . 4 . 4 . 4   3 . 3
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<i>Nem. I. S.</i>	2 . 3 . 2 . 3 . 2   4 . 43
E.	5 . 4 . 5 . 4

<i>Nem. V. S.</i>	52 . 5   3 . 3 . 3   22
E.	4 . 5 . 4 . 5   3 . 32

<i>Nem. VIII. S.</i>	5 . 4 . 5 . 4   4
E.	4 . 3 . 5 . 3 . 4   5 . 5

<i>Nem. IX. S.</i>	4 . 24   5 . 25   3
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*Note.* I confess I am not quite satisfied with this scheme.

<i>Nem. X. S.</i>	5 . 5   3 . 4 . 32   33
E.	4 . 4   4 . 3 . 4   222

<i>Nem. XI. S.</i>	4 . 4   4 . 3 . 4
E.	4 . 4 . 4   4 . 3 . 4

<i>Isth. I. S.</i>	3 . 3   3 . 2 . 3   33
E.	4 . 5 . 4 . 5   222

(This epode requires further investigation.)

<i>Isth. II. S.</i>	4 . 5 . 4   3 . 3
E.	23 . 3   2 . 3 . 3 . 2

<i>Isth. III. S.</i>	4 . 4   3 . 3   23 . 3   or   4 . 4   3 . 3 . 23 . 3
E.	3   2 . 2 . 2   222   232

<i>Isth. IV. S.</i>	3 . 3   3 . 2 . 3   222
E.	3 . 3   3 . 2 . 3   3 . 3   3 . 3

<i>Isth. V. S.</i>	3 . 3   3 . 2 . 3   2 . 4 . 3 . 4 . 2
E.	3 . 3   4 . 5 . 4   4 . 42

This then is an exhaustive induction so far as regards the Epitritic Odes of Pindar; and it appears to me that the symmetry of the schemes affords a strong presumption in favour of the theory advanced. I would further invite comparison of these schemes with those given by Mr. Gildersleeve and Dr. J. J. H. Schmidt; when I think it will be evident that those I have given are much more simple and perspicuous.

G. DUNN.

EDINBURGH.

#### PRINCIPAL PETERSON'S INDEBTEDNESS TO PROF. FRIEZE.

READERS of the *Classical Review* will recall Prof. A. S. Wilkins's appreciative review<sup>1</sup> of a book by Principal W. Peterson, *M. Fabi Quintilianii Institutionis Oratoriae*

<sup>1</sup> Vol. vi. pp. 32–34.

*liber decimus*: a revised text with introductory essays, critical and explanatory notes, and a facsimile of the Harleian MS.—Oxford 1891. With most of the opinions therein expressed I have nothing here to do. I wish

rather to call attention to what appears to be scant recognition made by the author of the work in question to an edition by another author. In 1890<sup>1</sup> appeared *The Tenth and Twelfth Books of the Institutions of Quintilian*, with explanatory notes by Henry S. Frieze, Professor of Latin in the University of Michigan. New edition revised and improved. New York 1890. Were Professor Frieze living, his habitual modesty would, perhaps, disincline him to any notice of a failure properly to recognize his work. Still, fairness demands some mention of the fact that, though Principal Peterson has seen fit to draw upon Prof. F.'s book, he has for some reason not seen fit except in rare cases<sup>2</sup> to acknowledge his obligation. In his preface, after mentioning his obligation to German philological literature and to those who have rendered him critical service, Peterson says (p. vi.): 'A reference to the list of authorities consulted will show the extent of the obligations incurred to other editors and critics.' On pp. lxxv.—lxxvii. P. gives a 'List of editions, tractates, and

<sup>1</sup> The preface bears date of Jan. 1888.

<sup>2</sup> For example : 10, 4, 1 ; 10, 5, 12 ; 10, 7, 7.

#### PETERSON.

Though termed here a *genus*, it is itself divided into three *genera*: (1) the simple, terse, concise (*τοχών*, *tenuis*, *subtile*, *pressum*...*quod minimum ab usu cotidiano recedit*) ; (2) the grand, broad, lofty, stirring, passionate (*άδρον*, *uber*, *grande*, *amplum*, *elatum*, *concitatum*) ; (3) the flowing, plastic, polished, smooth, melodious, intermediate (*άνθηρον*, *lene*, *nitidum*, *suave*, *compositum*, *medium*).

On 10, 1, 100 we read :

#### PETERSON.

The charm referred to is the peculiar property of Attic writers generally,—not the comic poets alone. Latin is too formal and rhetorical to fall into the simple naturalness and directness of Attic Greek.

Again we have on 10, 7, 31 :

#### PETERSON.

The meaning is this: I do not make this apology or explanation (*excuso*) as to the character of Tiro's abridgment of Cicero's memoranda, compared with the studied elaboration of Sulpicius, with any idea of implying inferiority, but in order that...

books of reference' and says: 'Besides the complete editions of Spalding, Zumpt, Bonnell, Halm (1868-9), Meister (1886-7), use has been made of the following editions of Book x.' At the end of this list we read : 'Frieze (Books x. and xii.) New York 1889.'

In a somewhat hasty perusal of the notes of Dr. Peterson I have marked a considerable number of places in the tenth book, where it would seem some further acknowledgment was to be expected than that covered by the general statement which P. has prefixed to the list of editions printed in his book.

Of course there will be difference of opinion as to how far an editor is warranted in availing himself of the labours of former editors without specific acknowledgment. It is, however, pretty generally agreed that a literal appropriation of subject-matter should receive quotation marks, and usage requires the courtesy of some acknowledgment in the case of direct adaptation of another's work.

The following illustrations will in part serve to explain what I mean: On 10, 1, 44 we have :

#### FRIEZE.

Though termed here a *genus*, it is itself divided into three kinds, also called *genera*:

1. the simple, terse, concise, almost conversational (*tenuis*, *subtile*, *pressum*, *quod minimum ab usu quotidiano recedit*) ; 2. the grand, broad, lofty, stirring, passionate (*grande*, *amplum*, *elatum*, *concitatum*) ; 3. the flowing, plastic, polished, smooth, melodious, intermediate (*lene*, *nitidum*, *suave*, *compositum*, *medium*).

#### FRIEZE.

The Roman speech in its very nature is insusceptible of the peculiar charm of the Attic comedy. . . . The Latin is more formal and rhetorical, and does not easily fall into the simple naturalness and directness of the Attic Greek.

#### FRIEZE.

The sense is this: I do not make this apology or explanation (*excuso*) as to the character of Tiro's skeletons of Cicero, compared with the studied and literary finish of those of Sulpicius, with any idea of implying inferiority, but rather that...

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Of shorter passages the following will suffice: 10, 1, 23 *egisse*: to have actually delivered it: opposed to *scripsit*. (Peterson).—*egisse*, to have actually delivered it; opposed to *scripsit*. (Frieze).

10, 1, 36 his quoque, sc. philosophis—as well as with the poets and historians §§ 28, 31. (Peterson).—his quoque, to these also; as well as to the poets and historians. (Frieze).—in rebus *isdem*: ‘on the same topics,’ viz. questions of right and wrong, which are common to philosophy and law. (Peterson).—in rebus *iisdem*; *on the same topics*; questions of right and wrong, etc., common to the law and philosophy. (Frieze).

10, 1, 60 *materia*, ‘subject-matter,’ which was mainly personal character and conduct in common life. (Peterson).—*materiae vi- tium*, the fault of his subject-matter; mainly personal character and conduct in common life. . . . (Frieze).

For further examples cf. also Peterson and Frieze on

- 10, 1, 11. *τροπικῶς*.
- 10, 1, 34. *ligatore*.
- 10, 1, 40. *nostri iudicii summa*.

- 10, 1, 44. *vere Attica putant*.
- 10, 1, 46. *omnibus... dedit*. Notice also the direct quotation from Frieze at the end.
- 10, 1, 48. *adfectus*.
- 10, 1, 49. *amplificationes*.
- 10, 1, 49. *testimonia*.
- 10, 1, 51. *clarissima comparatio*.
- 10, 1, 57. *indicem*.
- 10, 1, 58. *iam... viribus*.
- 10, 1, 63. *tyrannos*.
- 10, 1, 70. *iudicia*.
- 10, 1, 71. *declamatoribus*.
- 10, 2, 6. *in id solum student*.
- 10, 2, 11. *alienum*.
- 10, 2, 27. *prooemio... movendis*.
- 10, 5, 14. *orationibus*.
- 10, 5, 19. *inveniendi*.
- 10, 5, 22. *materias*.
- 10, 7, 12. *in ratione*.
- 10, 7, 14. *recentes*.
- 10, 7, 26. *diligentius... componitur*.
- 10, 7, 29. *nescio an*.
- 10, 7, 30. *subitis*.
- 10, 7, 31. *nam*.

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#### TABELLAE.

THE ordinary English works of reference give very conflicting accounts of the method of voting in trials. According to some the *iudices* received three *tabellae*, ready inscribed with A., C., and N. L.; according to others they received one blank *tabella*, on which they wrote the required letter themselves. The former is indeed the favourite theory, and is given in the new edition of Smith's *Dict. of Ant.* s.v. *tabella*. In no book, so far as I am aware, is any passage cited which gives support to either theory, and generally no rival theory is mentioned.

The question seems to be settled in favour of the first-mentioned explanation by Cic. *div. in Q. C.* vii. 24, where however Mr. Heitland's note runs: ‘Each juror received a small tablet coated with wax. Upon this he wrote &c.’ Cicero is referring to a notorious case of bribery, in which the bribed jurors were provided with a tablet coated with wax of a different colour from the rest, the object evidently being that the bribery agents present in court might see that the bribed jurors voted ‘square.’ Now

(1) the bribery agents cannot have been able to see the marks on the tablets, otherwise what need of the coloured wax? Hortensius, according to Cicero, hints to the jury that on the present occasion no coloured wax was needed because *certos esse in consilio, quibus ostendi tabellas velit*. (2) If the jurors wrote their verdict on the tablet themselves, the coloured wax would be useless as a means of detecting those jurors who took bribes from one side and voted for the other. Even if the bribery agents got access to the ballot-boxes after the trial, they could only console themselves with learning how many jurors had managed to cheat them; the individuals would be safe from detection. The proceedings I take to have been as follows. All the jurors were provided with three ready marked tablets in, say, white wax. The bribed jurors also received one tablet each in, say, red wax, marked A. By voting with the easily seen red tablet they showed the agents that they were voting for the acquittal of the defendant, by whom they had been bribed. If they voted with a white tablet, their only object in

doing so would be to vote C. or N. L., in which case the bribery agents would no doubt wait for them outside the court and interview them on the subject. If this explanation is correct—and I cannot understand the proceedings on any other theory—the singular in *ceratam unicuique tabellam dari cera legitima* must not be pressed. Perhaps Cicero in using the sing. is thinking

either of the single tablet with which each juror voted, or of the single coloured tablet given to each on the occasion to which he is referring. If the sing. be pressed as evidence for the single tablet theory, then some one must explain how coloured wax could be of the slightest use in checking the bribed jurors.

J. H. VINCE.

#### THE PERMANENCE OF INFAMIA.

THERE is a passage in the letter of Q. Cicero 'de petitione consulatus' the full importance of which seems hardly to have been appreciated by commentators. And yet this passage, when connected with others from Asconius's commentaries, furnishes the negative evidence which completely disproves Savigny's theory as to the permanence of the Roman Infamia; a theory which has gained almost universal acceptance and has even formed the basis of a whole system: that, namely, of Dr. Émile Reich in his *Graeco-Roman Institutions*. Savigny's theory of the permanence of Infamia following condemnation in civil cases is drawn mainly from the 'Pro Quinctio,' which case turned on the validity of a writ of 'bonorum possessio.'

In § 8 of the 'de pet. cons.' we read 'eorum alterius' (i.e. Antonius, M. Cicero's competitor in the consulship) 'bona proscripta vidimus,' which is explained by Asconius (in tog. cand. p. 111) 'Hunc Antonium Gellius et Lentulus censurex sexcennio [ante] quam haec dicerentur senatu moverunt causasque subscripterunt, quod socios diripuerit, quod iudicium recusarit, quod propter aeris alieni magnitudinem *praediam manciparit, bonaque sua in potestate non haberet*'—in fact one of the censor's *subscriptiones* was sufficient, if Savigny be right, to make Antonius an *aerarius* for life; he was involved, if we trust the language of the 'Pro Quinctio' in a 'causa capitii' (ix. 32: cf. xiii. 44 and 45, xxii. 71), in which 'omnis fama et existimatio cum bonis simul possidetur' (xvi. 49). And yet he was now a candidate for the consulship, and had apparently been put on the list of the senate again at the last *lustrum*. Cicero's rhetoric can, in fact, seldom be trusted as a basis for a legal argument.

It has also been held that 'praevaricatio'

was a ground for this permanent Infamia. In Asconius (in tog. cand. p. 87) we read 'Ita quidem iudicio est absolutus Catilina, ut Clodius infamis fuerit praevaricatus esse' (cf. p. 115 and in *Pisonian*, p. 125). If this be taken to mean that the 'praevaricatio' of Clodius was proved in the course of the trial ('in iudicio publico'), which seems to have been the usual procedure, there being no separate court for this offence, it is an additional argument against the permanence of Infamia, since Clodius certainly lost none of his civic rights.

The concluding instance that may be quoted from Asconius is quite the most decisive as to the absence of a permanent Infamia during the Republic. 'Furtum' belonged to civil law; condemnation in this is supposed to have produced permanent disqualification: and we know from all our sources that in civil cases *pactio* was as fatal as condemnation, and that this rule even extended to bankruptcy, as we learn from the 'Lex Iulia Municipalis.' Yet in the commentary (in tog. cand. p. 112) we read 'L. enim Mucius tr. pl. intercedebat, ne lex ambitus ferretur: quod facere pro Catilina videbatur. Hunc Mucium in hac oratione Cicero appellans sic ait—"Cum tecum furti L. Calenus ageret, me potissimum fortunarum tuarum patronum esse voluisti. Nisi forte hoc dicturus es, quo tempore cum L. Caleno furti depectus sis, eo tempore in me tibi parum esse auxili vidisse." In an 'actio furti' Mucius had compromised with the plaintiff: a proceeding which should have been followed, according to the generally accepted view, by perpetual disqualification. And yet he subsequently became tribune of the plebs.

A. H. GREENIDGE.

LEEUWEN AND COSTA'S *ODYSSEY*, VOL. II.

*Homeri Odysseae Carmina cum apparatu critico.* Ediderunt J. VAN LEEUWEN, J. F., et M. B. MENDES DA COSTA. Pars posterior. Carm. xiii.-xxiv. et index. Lugduni Batavorum apud A. W. Sijthoff. 1892.

As three-fourths of this edition of Homer are already before the world, and as the methods and peculiarities of the editors have been copiously reviewed in innumerable periodicals, it will be advisable for me rather to criticize some special points in this particular volume than to repeat what has been said before about the digamma or the augment or the use of *āv* and *κω*. On this last point especially everybody knows what valuable work has been done by Mr. van Leeuwen, nor is it likely that any have been led astray by our authors' remarkable heresy concerning the augment which has filled their text with such forms as *γρκε* and *βη*.

The first passage one turns to naturally is the last book, of which few will defend the authenticity. It is with surprise and dissent for my own part that I find the greater part of the termination of the *Odyssey* here retained as genuine, only ψ 310-343 and ω 1-204 being rejected in accordance with the obeli of Aristarchus. After referring to Kirchhoff's adverse judgment, the editors remark, 'vix credibile videtur eidem viro deberi manium garrulorum nugas molestas et suave filii nondum agniti cum moesto patre colloquim.' It is, of course, mainly a question of taste in poetry, but I confess that I can no more recognize the 'suavitas' of that 'colloquium' than Laertes could recognize Odysseus. It is in my eyes simply a bad copy of those transcendent recognition scenes which the veriest bungler could not steal from without a little of the honey sticking to his clumsy fingers. But let any one compare the garrulous feeble speech, ω 244-279, with any even the least good from the veritable Odysseus, and then with the 'manes garruli,' and see which it resembles most. Then how lamentably does the copyist betray himself by the hasty way in which he makes Laertes bolt out with his demand for a *σῆμα* in 329; how elegant is the touch, *ἀντὶ πίνας δέ Φοι ἡδη δρυμὸν μένος προέτρψε!* No; if one could credit Homer with this, one might tranquilly ascribe *Rhesus* to

Sophocles and *Thomas Lord Cromwell* to Shakespeare. And this is done by editors who declare of the word *πάντα* in τ 475, one of the most exquisite and delicate touches in literature, that it is 'vix sanum.' After having swallowed that camel!

A great deal is undoubtedly to be said for ejecting the story of the boar-hunt on Parnassus (τ 395-490); it comes as a serious interruption of a most interesting scene, and can be cut clean out without leaving any rough edge. 'Hinc alienos esse et postmodum igitur insertos quivis sentit' (*et igitur*, by the way, is rather dubious Latin). But there is nothing whatever in the lines themselves to betray late date, or which can be pronounced unworthy of the poet, and the awkwardly expressed observation of Aristotle (*Poetics* viii.), to which the editors do not refer however, cannot be understood to mean that he was ignorant of this passage. It will be wiser, I think, to leave it untouched, as Ludwich does. And why should this be secluded, when ω 225-256 are retained, though the editors agree with Nitzsch in condemning them? We ought not to condemn anything on purely subjective grounds, but if we do begin this practice, why should one passage be taken and another left?

In ν 158 they accept the reading or conjecture of Aristophanes: *μηδέ* for *μέγα δέ*. Aristarchus particularly combated this, so that there cannot well have been any ancient tradition in favour of it, nor is it at all in the Epic style. If one is conservative, one must stick to *μέγα*; if not, the line must go, for *μή* is nothing but a bad guess. ν 200-208 are ejected on the ground that 'aptam sententiam non praebent verba,' but this is due to a false rendering of *ὅφελον μεῖναι*, which does not mean *massissem* but *mansiissent* (*χρήματα*). τ 195: *θέλγεις* can hardly be right, because Telemachus goes on to say that a god makes Odysseus young and old at his pleasure; Odysseus then cannot be a *δάίμων*. *θέλγει* cannot be said to be against the metre until a good many similar pieces of scansion be got rid of. ρ 375: *ῳ ἀμέγαρτε* is an ingenious suggestion for *ῳ ἀριγνωτε*, and may very possibly be right. φ 434: I would commend to the editors' attention the correction *κεκορυθμένον* for *κεκορυθμένος*, due to Protodikos, and one of the very best ever made, for it clears up a whole scene in the next book by the change of a single letter.

The vulgate represents Telemachus as standing by Odysseus when the fight begins (*ἄγχι αὐτοῦ*), as being armed (*κεκορυθμένος*), and *πάρ θρόνον*. Now he was not near Odysseus, for he hits Amphionus in the back (*χ 92*) and then runs to his father (*χ 99*). He was not armed, except with the spear, but *κεκορυθμένος* must imply more than that; he arms himself in *χ 113*. And *πάρ θρόνον* is meaningless. But read *κεκορυθμένον* (*έγχος*), and how simple it all is! ‘The spear stood near him resting against his chair headed with bronze.’

I have picked out some points on which I disagree with this edition, but need scarcely say that I agree with a great deal of it. However much remains only too doubtful in the reconstruction of the Homeric text, it is at least something that all of us unite in accepting Wackernagel’s restoration of forms

due to assimilation, in resolving so many forms, in nine out of ten restorations of the digamma, and in turning out such stupid blunders as *ταινίτῳ δὲ ἔσκας* in *ω 254*. Surely it is not too much to ask the most conservative of editors to cease from at any rate giving us stuff that cannot be construed. Compared with this, lines that will not scan and forms acknowledged to be false are a trifle, for they only offend a handful of students (who are very much given to introducing them themselves), but I am fain to believe that more people care to read Homer and to make some kind of sense of him than is apparently believed by the editors who gravely print what is often no more intelligible than a Hittite inscription, without even marking it as corrupt.

ARTHUR PLATT.

#### ARISTOPHANES AND THE ‘ERASMIANS’

*Le poète Aristophane et les partisans d’Erasme*, par TH. PAPADIMITRACOPOULOS. Leide, Brill. 1892.

M. PAPADIMITRACOPOULOS proposes in this pamphlet, reprinted from *ΕΛΛΑΣ* IV., to enlist the help of Aristophanes in support of the Modern Greek pronunciation of the ancient language, as opposed to the ‘théories des partisans d’Erasme.’ He proceeds to offer ‘quelques témoignages que nous croyons propres à persuader tout lecteur non prévenu, et à confirmer dans son esprit l’opinion, que le seul juste enseignement sur la prononciation des lettres et des syllabes de la langue grecque est celui des grammairiens, qui viennent immédiatement après l’antiquité classique.’ This programme sounds very plausible and moderate; but it is really the old trumpet-call to the battle again, so long waged between ‘Reuchlinians’ and ‘Erasmians.’ The question has become with the modern Greeks a question of patriotism even more than of scholarship; if the fortress they hold is strategically untenable, still they cling to it with the heroism of despair—at least we will let Dr. Blass say so, for he cannot draw down more missiles on his head than he has already encountered. ‘The hottest and most persistent combatants,’ he remarks (*Pronunciation of Ancient Greek* § 1), ‘are the Greeks themselves, who, now that the

German pronunciation has been adopted even in Russia, are in fact the only people who still cherish itacism. Among them, however, there are not wanting enlightened investigators of language, who do not refuse to take a scientific view even of this subject.’ The weakness of M. Papadimitrakopoulos’ position is suggested by the eagerness with which he seizes on a doubtful argument as ‘une preuve évidente.’ Considering how far-fetched and how slight are the majority of the Aristophanic puns, it is sanguine, to say the least, to accept as a ‘preuve évidente’ of the ‘différence de prononciation fort petite entre le *η* et le *ι* à l’époque d’Aristophane’, the line (*Pax* 926)

XO. βοῖ; μηδαμῶς, ἵνα μὴ βοηθεῖν ποι δέη,

nor is the hiatus commonly found in *εὖ οἶδα* etc. a proof that *εὖ* was pronounced in the Modern Greek fashion with the sound of a *w*. It rather suggests the English *w*. One naturally turns to see what line the writer takes about the sheep and the dog, who are supposed to have done so much for the solution of the question by bleating *βῆ βῆ* and barking *αῦ αῦ*. M. Papadimitrakopoulos ‘does not think much of this’: probably because, whatever the sound of sheep may be to various ears, there cannot here be ‘une différence fort petite’ between the pronunciation of *η* and *ι*. But, ‘vu que le

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chien aboie en Grèce  $\alpha\beta\alpha\beta$ , ou  $\beta\alpha\beta$ ,  $\beta\alpha\beta$ ', there is no knowing what a domestic animal will not do for the sake of patriotism, if properly trained. Though we may think the battle to have been long decided in favour of the 'partisans d'Erasme'; still a review of the whole existing evidence, or the accumulation of fresh matter, cannot but be interesting, and more or less valuable. The pity of it is that a discussion between scholars should degenerate into vituperation. No good purpose is served by writing, 'le langage (*sic!*) pompeux de Blass disant que la phalange des partisans d'Erasme, toujours très nombreuse, s'est accrue au delà de toute mesure dans ces

derniers temps, ne nous déconcerte pas le moins du monde, parceque nous croyons à la force de la vérité, et l'histoire nous apprend par de magnifiques exemples, que l'erreur, quelle que soit son étendue et son empire, doit enfin céder à la vérité; nous vivons heureusement dans un siècle où toutes les erreurs nées et ayant fleuries dans le temps d'ignorance, disparaissent successivement devant la lumière de la vérité et de la science.' The large self-complacence of the above may well match any 'langage pompeux' of Dr. Blass: and would not Aristophanes have put it in the mouth of  $\omega\pi\tau\tau\eta\pi\kappa\mu\alpha\theta\pi\alpha\sigma\dot{\alpha}\nu\pi\eta$ ?

W. W. MERRY.

ATT.

#### MURRAY ON PARODY AND PARATRAGOEDIA IN ARISTOPHANES.

*On Parody and Paratragoedia in Aristophanes, with especial Reference to his Scenes and Situations*, by AUGUSTUS T. MURRAY, PH. D. Based upon a Dissertation presented to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Berlin, Mayer & Müller, 1891. 1 Mk. 50.

THE literature which treats of parody and paratragoedia in Aristophanes is already an extensive one. After the careful work done by Täuber, Bakhuizen, Lessing and others it would at first sight seem as though a new survey of the field were unnecessary. But a careful reading of Murray's Dissertation shows that this is by no means the case. After some very judicious introductory observations the author discusses successively 'Parodic Scenes and Motifs,' 'Scenic Paratragoedia' and 'Verbal Parody and

Paratragoedia.' His treatment of each of these subjects is clear and concise, and he calls attention to numerous parallelisms which have been neglected by previous workers in the same field. Especially worthy of notice is his discussion of the plot of the *Telephus* (pp. 8 ff.), and the use which he makes of a fragment of Ennius (*Tel. fr. viii.* Ribbeck) to prove that *Acharn.* 110 ff. is parodied from that play is extremely ingenious. Sometimes he appears to go too far, e.g. it may well be doubted whether *Thesm.* 1211 ff. is a parody on *Cycl.* 675 ff. (p. 27), though the resemblance in language and situation is certainly striking. But for the most part the work is sound and careful, and the Dissertation forms a useful supplement to the admirable treatise of Bakhuizen.

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#### APELT'S PSEUDO-ARISTOTELIAN TREATISES.

(Continued from Vol. VI. page 446.)

191, 14. 980<sup>a</sup> 9. εὶ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν τὰς ἀποδείξεις λέγει <εἴναι  
ἄγνωστα> ἄπαντα. δεῖν (δεῖν Lps.) γὰρ τὰ  
φρονούμενα εἴναι καὶ τὸ μὴ οὖν, εἰπερ μὴ ἔστι,  
μηδὲ φρονεῖσθαι. εὶ δὲ οὐτως οὐδὲν ἀντί εἴναι  
ψεῦδος οὐδεὶς φησιν οὐδέ εἰ ἐν τῷ πελάγει φαίνεται  
ἀμυλλᾶσθαι ἄρματα. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτη (Apelt,  
ταῦτα Lps., ταῦτα cett.) εἴη. Foss conjectures

εὶ μὲν οὖν οὐδέν, τὰς ἀποδείξεις λέγει <εἴναι  
ἄγνωστα> ἄπαντα. δεῖν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.

Apelt, εἴναι οὖν οὐδὲν τὰς ἀποδείξεις <λέγει  
ταῦτα> εὶ δὲ οὐτι, ότι ἀγνωστόν εἴτι μετὰ ταῦτα  
τὰς ἀποδείξεις >λέγει. ἄπαντα δεῖν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.

Apelt seems to have at least recovered the sense of the original. εἴναι seems right, but

probably εἰ μὲν οὖν stands for εἴναι μὲν οὖν. For the μέν, cf. 979<sup>a</sup> 14 καὶ ὅτι μὲν οὐκ ἔστι κ.τ.λ., a passage which also confirms Apelt's idea of what should be inserted after ἀποδεῖξεις. But something should perhaps be added in the next sentence. Though the text is corrupt the argument seems clearly to have been this:—‘If real things are known they must be in our minds (*φρονεῖσθαι*, *φρονούμενα*), or objects in consciousness. But imaginary objects which are admitted unreal, e.g. chariots racing on the sea, are just as much objects in consciousness, and if one object which exists in consciousness is real so must another be—ἀπάγτα δέ τὰ φρονούμενα εἴναι, for they have the same kind of existence, viz. existence as objects of consciousness—καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὄρώμενα καὶ ἀκονόμενα διὰ τοῦτο ἔστιν, ὅτι φρονεῖται ἔκαστα αὐτῶν. This is in effect the same argument, though put somewhat differently, as that ascribed to Gorgias by Sextus Empiricus *adv. Math.* vii. 77 *sqq.* εἰ γὰρ τὰ φρονούμενα, φησίν ὁ Γοργίας, οὐκ ἔστιν οὐτά, τὸ δὲ οὐ φρονεῖται κ.τ.λ. 80 *sqq.* εἰ τὰ φρονούμενά ἔστιν οὐτά τὰ μὴ ὄντα οὐ φρονηθήσεται. We seem therefore to require the insertion of εἰ τὸ δὲ φρονεῖται, or an equivalent, somewhere in the first clause as necessary to the argument, e.g. ἀπάγτα γὰρ δεῖν τὰ φρονούμενα εἴναι <εἰ τὸ δὲ φρονεῖται>, καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν, εἰπερ μὴ ἔστι, μηδὲ φρονεῖσθαι or εἰ τὸ δὲ φρονεῖται, ἀπάγτα δεῖν τὰ φρονούμενα εἴναι.

In the next sentence Apelt reads οὐδὲν ἀν εἰ ποι ψεῦδος οὐδείς φησιν. Gorgias' argument however would rather be that no appearance to consciousness (*φρονούμενον*, *φανόμενον*) could be false, and not that no assertion could be false. Perhaps therefore φανεῖ should be read for φαίη, or possibly φρονεῖ with indefinite subject, and εἴναι kept unaltered. This conjecture is supported by the parallel passage in Sextus Empiricus *adv. Math.* vii. 79 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀν φρονῇ τις ἀνθρωπον ιπτάμενον ἡ ἄρματα ἐν πελάγει τρέχοντα.

Οὐδείς before φησι may be a ditto graph of οὐδείς εἰ after φησι, or οὐδείς should be changed to οὐδὲν, οὐδὲν to οὐδέ:—οὐδὲν ἀν εἴναι ψεῦδος φησιν, οὐδὲ εἰ ἐν τῷ πελάγει φανεῖ ἀμυλλάσθαι ἄρματα, or οὐδὲ ἀν εἴναι ψεῦδος οὐδέν. Even if φαίη were retained it would be better not to alter εἴναι, but to make one of the above changes in the negatives. The next passage is given in the MSS. thus:—καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὄρώμενα καὶ ἀκονόμενα διὰ τοῦτο ἔστιν ὅτι φρονεῖται ἔκαστα αὐτῶν εἰ δὲ μὴ διὰ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ωσπερ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀ ὄρώμεν έστιν, οὐτως μᾶλλον ἀ ὄρώμεν ἡ διανοούμεθα (καὶ γὰρ ωσπερ ἔκει πολλοὶ ἀν ταῦτα ἰδούσι, καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλοὶ

ἀν ταῦτα διανοοθείημεν, τὸ οὖν μᾶλλον δὴ..... τοιάδ' (R<sup>a</sup> a τοιάδ') ἔστι; ποῦν δὲ τάληθη, ἀδηλον.

Apelt's emendations are ἔστι a i ὅτι φρονεῖται: ἀ ὄρώμεν <ἢ ὄρώμεν> ἔστιν, οὐτως <οὐ>μᾶλλον: ἢ διανοούμεθα: διανοηθεῖ εἰ εὐ: δὴ<λον εἰ> τοιάδ' or δὴ<λον εἰ τοιάδ' ἢ> τοιάδ': and he follows Mullach in reading τι οὐν μᾶλλον.

One may venture however to think that the text has suffered some more considerable corruption. As it stands, there are certain expressions in it which seem pretty clearly to indicate the line which the argument took. Gorgias had argued that objects of imagination (ἀ διανοούμεθα) existed in consciousness (φρονεῖσθαι) in the same way as objects of perception (τὰ ὄρώμενα καὶ ἀκονόμενα) and that the existence of the latter was only their existence in consciousness (καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὄρώμενα καὶ ἀκονόμενα διὰ τοῦτο ἔστιν<sup>1</sup> ὅτι φρονεῖται ἔκαστα αὐτῶν); imaginary objects therefore were as real as perceived ones (πάντα ἀν ταῦτη εἴη), and the two kinds indistinguishable. This is evidently the familiar difficulty of subjective idealism. In the passage now considered Gorgias is putting and answering a familiar way of meeting this difficulty. It is contended that we can distinguish among the objects of consciousness between what is real and what is only our thought or fancy (ἀ διανοούμεθα). The objects of perception are distinguished as real because they are common to the consciousness of many different persons (πολλοὶ ταῦτα δρόσιοι). Gorgias answers that this is no criterion at all, because there are thoughts or fancies which are common to the consciousness of many different people:—καὶ γὰρ ωσπερ ἔκει (i.e. in perceptions) πολλοὶ ἀν ταῦτα ἰδούσι, καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλοὶ ταῦτα διανοθείουσι.

The last words, in which clearly ταῦτα should be substituted for ταῦτα, seem to be the key of the whole passage; but as the text is read in the editions they can hardly be said to have an intelligible connexion with their context. Starting from them we are perhaps naturally led to emend the clause preceding them thus:—οὐτως <οὐδὲν> μᾶλλον ἀ ὄρώμεν <ἔστιν> ἢ <ἢ> διανοούμεθα. The words immediately preceding this again are exactly the same, except that ωσπερ replaces οὐτως, and thus we arrive at what looks like a ditto graph—ωσπερ οὐ δὲν μᾶλλον ἀ ὄρώμεν εν τιν οὐτως <οὐ δὲν> μᾶλλον

<sup>1</sup> If this is right διὰ τοῦτο έστιν should not be altered to διὰ τοῦτο έσται: if any change is made εἴναι (oratio obliqua) might be read, but no change is necessary.

δὴ.....  
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τι φρον-  
τεῖσθαι  
θεῖεν:  
> τοῦδε:  
τι οὐν

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ον ἀ  
λλον  
not be  
is made  
hang is

ἀ ὁρῶμεν εν <ε στιν> ἡ <ἀ> διανοούμεθα,—  
and may conjecture that the words οὐδὲν  
μᾶλλον ὥρωμεν ἔστιν where they first occur  
have displaced something which may have  
been like them. From the argument which  
seems intended we might expect a text like  
the following :—

καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὥρωμενα καὶ ἀκούμενα διὰ τοῦτο  
ἔστιν ὅτι φρονέται ἑκαστα αὐτῶν. εἰ δὲ μὴ διὰ  
τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι πολλοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ὥρωμεν  
& ὥρωμεν ἔστιν, οὕτω <γ' οὐδὲν> μᾶλλον ὥρωμεν  
τὰ ὥρωμενα ἔστιν, οὕτω <ε στιν> ἡ <ἀ> διανοούμεθα, καὶ γὰρ  
ἴσωμεν  
ώσπερ ἐκεῖ πολλοὶ ἀν τὰ αὐτὰ ἰδούεν, καὶ  
διανοηθήσουμεν  
ἐνταῦθα πολλοὶ ἀν τὰ αὐτὰ διανοηθέεν.

If the original were really something like this, it would have to be supposed that the two clauses ὅτι πολλοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ὥρωμεν ὥρωμεν ἔστιν and οὕτω γε οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὥρωμεν ἔστι were confused through similarity of ending, so that the first was omitted and the second written twice over: and, further, that the first οὗτος was altered to ὥσπερ in a subsequent effort at emendation. This is perhaps not very plausible; but it seems as though the argument of the original must have been to this effect, and if so some one else may be more fortunate in emending the text to correspond to it. If the emendation of the second clause were approved it might possibly be thought enough to insert ἡ ὥρωμεν in the first, with Apelt :—

εἰ δὲ μὴ διὰ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον  
ὥρωμεν <ἡ ὥρωμεν> ἔστιν, οὕτως <οὐδὲν>  
μᾶλλον ὥρωμεν <ε στιν> ἡ <ἀ> διανοούμεθα,  
καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ πολλοὶ ἀν ταῦτα ἰδούεν, καὶ  
ἐνταῦθα πολλοὶ ἀν ταῦτα διανοηθέεν.

If the objects of perception do not exist on that account (*i.e.* because they are objects of consciousness), yet (ἀλλά) just as what we see does not exist the more because we see it, so also what we see does not exist any more than what we think, for [if the former seems real because many see the same things yet] just as many have the same perceptions so also many have the same thoughts and fancies.' But this would be lame. There is a kind of bad logic in connecting the two clauses by ὥσπερ and οὕτω, for they do not really correspond; and the use of οὐδὲν μᾶλλον in the one does not correspond to its use in the other. We should expect in fact rather ὥσπερ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὥρωμεν ἔστιν ἡ ὥρωμεν, οὕτω οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἔστιν ὥρωμεν ὅτι πολλοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ὥρωσι, πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀν τὰ αὐτὰ διανοηθέεν. The ellipse also indicated in the translation above given is very awkward.

An objection, though not a fatal one, to ἡ ὥρωμεν is that the argument rather requires something common to the objects of ὥρων and διανοεῖσθαι, and the proper expression would be therefore ἡ (or ὅτι) φρονέται.

The last sentence is probably corrupt beyond restoration, but the words ποῦ δὲ τὰληθῆ ἀδηλον agree with the view which has been taken of the preceding. The objection to Apelt's emendation is that it violates the well-known usage according to which there should be a marked contrast between two clauses coupled by δέ, one of which has δῆλον for its predicate and the other ἀδῆλον.

Sextus Empiricus gives no help here. His version of the argument does indeed end as this does with a passage which maintains that objects of imagination (or thought) are as valid for consciousness as objects of perception; but the reasoning is quite different, and Ritter and Preller (*Historia Philosophiae* 193 ed. iv., 186 ed. v.) have this note upon it :—Cf. Arist. de Xenoph. c. 6, qui extrema videtur (nam parum de iis liquet: adeo haec corrupta sunt) aliter atque Sextus accepisse; certe argumenta ibi alia consequentia enumerantur.

Between the version of the second paradox of Gorgias before us and that given by Sextus Empiricus there are interesting differences throughout which are worth discussing. Ritter and Preller only quote Sextus, but there are reasons for thinking that the account in this Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise is the best.

Both versions begin with the position that if Being (or reality) could be known (or be object of consciousness), all objects of consciousness must be real; or, what is the same thing, that unless all objects of consciousness are real, reality cannot be object of consciousness.

Sextus Empiricus puts the proof of this as follows :—εἰ γὰρ τὰ φρονούμενα, φρονίν ὁ Γοργίας, οὐκ ἔστιν ὄντα τὸ ὃν οὐ φρονέται, καὶ κατὰ λόγον. ὥσπερ γὰρ εἰ τοῖς φρονούμενοις συμβέβηκεν εἶναι λευκοῖς καν συμβέβηκε τοῖς λευκοῖς φρονεῖσθαι, οὕτως εἰ τοῖς φρονούμενοις συμβέβηκε μὴ εἶναι οὖσι κατ' ἀνάγκην συμβήσεται τοῖς οὖσι μὴ φρονεῖσθαι διόπερ ὑγίεις καὶ σῶζον τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ἔστι τὸ ‘εἰ τὰ φρονούμενα οὐν ἔστιν ὄντα τὸ ὃν οὐ φρονέται.’ One may suspect from the last sentence διόπερ ὑγίεις κ.τ.λ. that the soundness of the inference in the statement which Sextus Empiricus approves had been called in question. From his illustration ὥσπερ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. he himself seems to make the inference a very obvious one by understanding εἰ τὰ φρονού-

μενα οὐκ ἔστιν ὄντα to mean εἰ μηδὲν τῶν φρονούμενων ἔστιν ὁν. But then he goes on to prove that τὰ φρονούμενα οὐκ ἔστιν ὄντα (= οὐδὲν τῶν φ. ἔστιν ὁν) by the instance of imaginary ἄρματα ἐν πελάγει τρέχοτα, and thus if φρονούμενα mean with him objects of consciousness in general, of perception as well as of imagination, he argues fallaciously from the particular to the universal. If on the other hand φρονούμενα mean only imaginary objects, then the inference implied both in the version of Sextus and the one before us, τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι γνωστὸν ὅτι τὸ δὲ οὐ φρονεῖται, would become a *non sequitur*, because Being might be known through perception. In either case then Sextus does not succeed in giving an argument which is ὕγιες καὶ σῶζον τὴν ἀκολούθιαν.

The argument from the imaginary chariots in the sea, common to both versions, is probably Gorgias' own. Doubtless it was intended to show that objects of consciousness as such were not necessarily real. Thus if εἰ τὰ φρονούμενα οὐκ ἔστιν ὄντα τὸ δὲ οὐ φρονεῖται is really the expression of Gorgias himself, the hypothetical clause is probably equivalent to εἰ τὰ φρονούμενα γῆ φρονούμενα οὐκ ἔστιν ὄντα, and thus therefore to εἰ τῶν φρονούμενων τὰ μὴ ἔστιν ὁν, not εἰ μηδὲν τῶν φ. κ.τ.λ. If this is so, it is easy to understand how fault may have been found with the ἀκολούθια of the sentence, and the explanation of Sextus Empiricus ὥσπερ γὰρ κ.τ.λ. of course fails.

The true argument seems to have been preserved in the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise: πάντα γὰρ ἀν ταῦτη εἴη (sc. εἰ τὸ δὲ φρονεῖται). καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὄρωμενα καὶ ἀκονούμενα διὰ τοῦτο ἔστιν ὅτι φρονεῖται, i.e., as has already been explained, even those objects of consciousness which are supposed to be real exist only in consciousness (like what are called imaginary) and not otherwise, and thus if any objects of consciousness have real existence, existence in consciousness as such is reality and the unreal cannot be object of consciousness. Hence follows directly what Sextus Empiricus quotes, εἰ τὰ φρονούμενα οὐκ ἔστιν ὄντα τὸ δὲ οὐ φρονεῖται, in the sense which it seems to bear if it is accurately quoted, and the ἀκολούθια of it lies in a principle of subjective idealism of which Sextus has not preserved any trace.

The manner in which Sextus Empiricus continues the argument is also unsatisfactory.<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τούτους, he adds, εἰ τὰ φρονού-

<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τούτους εἰ τὰ φρονούμενά ἔστιν ὄντα, τὰ μὴ ὄντα οὐ φρονηθήσεται. τοῖς γὰρ ἐναντίοις τὰ ἐναντία συμβέβηκεν, ἐναντίον δέ ἔστι τῷ ὄντι τὸ μὴ ὄν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντας εἰ τῷ ὄντι συμβέβηκε τὸ φρονεῖσθαι, τῷ

μενα ἔστιν ὄντα τὰ μὴ ὄντα οὐ φρονηθήσεται. To prove this he says that since opposites are predicated of opposites εἰ τῷ ὄντι συμβέβηκε τὸ φρονεῖσθαι τῷ μὴ ὄντι συμβέβηκε τὸ μὴ φρονεῖσθαι. The thesis in favour of which this is alleged should be εἰ τὰ ὄντα ἔστι φρονούμενα (not εἰ τὰ φρονούμενά ἔστιν ὄντα) τὰ μὴ ὄντα οὐ φρονηθήσεται, and this is what suits the theory of Gorgias. But the proof Sextus gives of it is obviously fallacious. In the Pseudo-Aristotelian version there is no such fallacy; the conclusion (τὸ μὴ ὄν, εἴπερ μὴ ἔστι, μηδὲ φρονεῖσθαι, 980<sup>a</sup> 10) follows at once from the idealist premise, as above shown.

But perhaps it is the last part<sup>2</sup> of the version of Sextus Empiricus which appears most faulty by comparison. Here, as in the corresponding part of the Pseudo-Aristotelian version, it is argued that the objects of the imagination (or thought) are as valid as those of perception—εἰ οὐ φρονεῖ τις ἐν πελάγει ἄρματα τρέχειν καὶ εἰ μὴ βλέπει ταῦτα, ὅφελει πιστεύειν. For imaginary objects Sextus Empiricus gives the word φρονούμενα, in contradistinction from ἀκοντά and ὄρατά. In the first place a serious confusion is caused by this use of φρονεῖν. It seems clear from Sextus Empiricus himself that Gorgias argued that the real could not be known because it was not φρονούμενον (cf. Sext. Emp. l.c. 77 and 82 οὐκ ἄρα τὸ δὲ φρονεῖται καὶ καταλαμβάνεται): and, as has been pointed out above, it seems therefore necessary that Gorgias should have used φρονεῖν not for imagination specially, but for consciousness in general. Now this is exactly the use of the term in the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise: φρονεῖν there includes perception (ἀκονέν and ὄραν) and thought (or imagination), the term for the latter being διανοεῖσθαι.

But in the second place there is another and still more serious defect. This argument in Sextus Empiricus which bases a *reductio ad absurdum* on the equal value of imagination and perception, is not put in any kind

μὴ ὄντι συμβέβηκε τὸ μὴ φρονεῖσθαι, ἄποτον δὲ ἔστι τοῦτο· καὶ γὰρ Σκύλλα καὶ Χίμαιρα καὶ πολλὰ τῶν μὴ ὄντων φρονεῖται, οὐκ ἄρα τὸ δὲ φρονεῖται.

<sup>2</sup> Ὅσπερ τὸ τὰ δρώμενα διὰ τοῦτο δρατὰ λέγεται ὅτι δράται, καὶ τὰ ἀκοντά διὰ τοῦτο ἀκοντά ὅτι ἀκοντεῖται, καὶ οὐ τὰ μὲν ὄρατα ἐκβάλλομεν ὅτι οὐκ ἀκοντεῖται, τὰ δὲ δικοντά παραπέμπομεν ὅτι οὐδὲ δράται (ἔκαστον γάρ ὅτε τῆς ἴδιας αἰσθητεως, δλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲ διλλητεῖ ὅφελει κρίνεσθαι), ὅπως καὶ τὰ φρονούμενα καὶ εἰ μὴ βλέποιτο τῇ ὄψει μηδὲ ἀκοντό τῇ ἀκοῇ ἔσται, ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ οἰκείου λαμβάνεται κριτήριον. εἰ οὖν φρονεῖ τις ἐν πελάγει ἄρματα τρέχειν καὶ εἰ μὴ βλέπει ταῦτα, ὅφελει πιστεύειν ὅτι ἄρματα ἔστιν ἐν πελάγει τρέχοντα ἄποτον δὲ τοῦτο. οὐκ ἄρα τὸ δὲ φρονεῖται καὶ καταλαμβάνεται. The last sentence is the conclusion of the whole set of arguments.

of connexion with the preceding or with the main thesis to be proved, the impossibility of knowing reality. Shortly the reasoning is as follows: 'Just as we cannot reject the objects of sight because they are not heard, so also we cannot reject the objects of imagination because they are not seen. Therefore if we imagine a chariot running on the sea, we ought to believe it is there. But this is absurd (*ἄτοπον δὲ τοῦτο*).'<sup>1</sup> But what is the result of the absurdity? Sextus Empiricus does not say; and, as he puts it, it would be natural to think that the result would be a denial of the equal validity of imagination with perception. But of what use would this be for the main argument?

A connexion with the main argument could be made by introducing another premiss which would then be negated by the *reductio ad absurdum*. 'Therefore [if we believe the senses we must believe the imagination, therefore] if we imagine a chariot on the sea we must believe it there. But that is absurd. [Therefore we can believe neither the senses nor the imagination, and thus reality cannot be known.]' But as the text stands this section of it is without coherence.

Here again we seem to get light from the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise, mutilated as it is. An important premiss is given there which has disappeared from Sextus Empiricus, viz. that objects of imagination and perception are on the same footing because both exist only in the consciousness—*διὰ τοῦτο ἔστι ὅτι φρονέται*. Then the text, though corrupt, shows in the words *εἰ δὲ μὴ διὰ τοῦτο (sc. ὅτι φρονέται)* that an objection was to be met; the objection being that perception was valid and not imagination. Here therefore it would be natural to give a defence of the equality of imagination and perception. Thus the scope and the position of the last part of the argument in both versions would be accounted for. The defence however is differently conducted in the two. In Sextus Empiricus it is that the senses can no more refute imagination than one faculty of sense can refute another. In the treatise before us Gorgias apparently met the particular objection that the validity of perception was proved by the agreement of different persons by remarking that people often agreed in *διάνοιᾳ*. He may possibly have argued in both ways in favour of this issue: but it is from the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatise that we seem to learn the relevance of the particular issue itself.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sext. Emp. adv. Math.* vii. 69 ought to have been quoted in a previous article in confirmation of the view taken of 974\* 9-10.

We now come to the mutilated text containing the third paradox of Gorgias, which ends the treatise (192, 12 : 980<sup>a</sup> 20).

εἰ δὲ καὶ γνωστά, πῶς ἀν τις, φησί, δηλώσειν ἀλλα; ὃ γάρ εἰδε, πῶς ἀν τις, φησί, τοῦτο εἴποι λόγῳ; η πῶς ἀν ἐκεῖνο δῆλον ἀκούαντι γέγοντο, μὴ ἰδούτι; ὥσπερ γάρ οὐδὲ η ὄψις τοὺς φθόγγους γιγνόσκει, οὐτως οὐδὲ η ἀκοή τὰ χρώματα ἀκούει ἀλλὰ φθόγγους· καὶ λέγει δ λέγων, ἀλλ’ οὐ χρώμα οὐδὲ πρᾶγμα. ὃ οὖν τις μὴ ἔνοει πῶς αἰτεῖ παρ’ ἄλλον λόγῳ η σημειών τινί ἔτέροι πράγματος (τοῦ πράγματος Lps.), ἐννοήσειν, ἀλλ’ η εὖ μὲν χρώμα ιδών, εὖ δὲ...νυμος; ἀρχήν γάρ οὐ...λεγε...γοει δὲ (οὐ λέγει δὲ Lps.) χρώμα, ἀλλὰ λόγον· ωστ’ οὐδὲ διανοεῖσθαι χρώμα ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ ὄραν, οὐδὲ ψόφον, ἀλλ’ ἀκούειν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔνδεχεται, γιγνοσκει τε καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκει λέγων, ἀλλὰ πῶς ὁ ἀκούων τὸ αὐτὸν ἐννοήσει; οὐ γάρ οἶν τε τὸ αὐτὸν ἡμῖν ἐν πλείσι καὶ χωρὶς οὐδον εἴναι δύναται γάρ ἀν εἴη τὸ ἔν. εἰ δὲ καὶ εἴη, φησίν, ἐν πλείσι καὶ ταῦτον, οὐδὲν κωλεῖ μὴ δροιον φαινεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς, μὴ πάντη ὄροινται ἐκείνοις οὐδον καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, εἴ τι ἐν (ἐν Lps.) τοιούτοι νείη σαγ ἀλλ’ οὐ δύναται. φαίνεται δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ὅμοια αἰσθανόμενος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ, ἀλλ’ ἔτερα τῇ ἀκοῇ καὶ τῇ ὄψει, καὶ νῦν τε καὶ πάλαι διαφόρως, ώστε σχολὴν ἀλλων (χολογη ἀλλω Lps.) πᾶν ταῦτο αἰσθαιτό τις οὗτος οὐκ εἴτιν, ἐν ἐστιν (ἐνεστι Lps.) γνωστόν οὐ δεῖται ἀν αὐτῷ ἔτερῳ δηλώσειν, διά τε τὸ μὴ εἴναι πράγματα λεκτά (λόγους Lps.), καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἔτερον ἔτερῳ ταῦτα ἐνοεῖ. ἀπαντεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἔτερων ἀρχαιοτέρων εἰσὶν ἀπορίαι, ώστε ἐν τῇ περὶ ἔκεινων σκέψει καὶ ταῦτα ἔξεταστέον.

980<sup>b</sup> 4. For *πῶς αἰτεῖ* Apelt reads *πῶς ἀν αὐτῷ*, with some probability.

980<sup>b</sup> 5, *ἔτερον πράγματος*. Apelt seems right in conjecturing *ἔτερῳ* and adopting the reading of Lps., *τοῦ πράγματος*.

980<sup>b</sup> 5-6, *ἐὰν δὲ...νυμος*. Apelt adopts Foss's emendation *ἐὰν δὲ φθόγγος ἀκροώμενος*, and emends the next words thus—*ἀρχήν γάρ οὐ δεῖται λέγει <φθόγγος> γον οὐδὲ χρώμα ἀλλὰ λόγον*. This can hardly be accepted. It seems a paradox to say οὐδεῖς λέγει φθόγγον, and besides it is a direct contradiction of what has been said above, οὗτος οὐδὲ η ἀκοή τὰ χρώματα ἀκούει ἀλλὰ φθόγγος, καὶ λέγει ὁ λέγων ἀλλ’ οὐ χρώμα οὐδὲ πρᾶγμα, for there it is clear that φθόγγον is understood after λέγει. The word that has been lost here is not φθόγγος and can hardly be anything else than ψόφος, as the next clause shows, *ώστε οὐδὲ διανοεῖσθαι χρώμα ἔστιν ἀλλ’ ὄραν οὐδὲ ψόφον*, provided the word ψόφος in this clause is genuine. There seems in fact to be a distinction here between φθόγγος as articulate spoken sounds—words, and

*ψόφος* as 'noise' or any other sound except words. Gorgias is arguing that one man can not communicate a notion to another man because language is only a symbol of the thing signified and not the thing itself. Thus the notion of colour (*ἐννοεῖν, διανοεῖσθαι χρῶμα*) could not be communicated because the speaker cannot speak a colour or the hearer hear a colour (980<sup>a</sup> 1-6). So also the notion of a *ψόφος* is not communicated by speaking, for what is spoken is a *φθόγγος*: thus the idea of thunder e.g. cannot be communicated by its name—'thunder.' One may suggest therefore:—*ἔαν μὲν χρῶμα ἴδων* *ἔτει* *δὲ <ψόφος ἀκο>* *ύστης, ἀρχὴν γάρ οὐ <ψόφον> λέγει* *<ι δλέ>* *γων οὐδὲ χρῶμα ἀλλὰ λόγον.* Foss apparently conjectures *ἀκρούμενος* in order to get near the corrupt *ψόφος* of the text, but the context shows that *ἀκροῦσθαι* is not the right kind of word but rather *ἀκούειν*, and **ΥΣΑΣ** is nearer than **ΜΕΝΟΣ** to **ΥΜΟΣ**. *ψόφος* of course suggests *χυμός*, which would be a better illustration than *ψόφος*, but then *χυμός* must have appeared instead of *ψόφος* in the next clause, *ώστε οὐδὲ κ.τ.λ.* In this latter clause the text may seem at first sound enough, and there appears to be no variant in the MSS. here: but nevertheless a curious mistake seems to have got into it. The words *ἄλλα ὄραν* and *ἄλλα ἀκούειν* seem to have been introduced by some one who had missed the point of the argument. Gorgias does not contend that it is impossible to form a notion of colour or imagine (*διανοεῖσθαι*) it at all, because it can only be seen and not imagined; but, as is clear from the preceding context, he meant simply that one man could not get a notion of what colour was from another through the medium of speech alone. The particles *ώστε οὐδὲ* show that *διανοεῖσθαι χρῶμα* is only said to be impossible under that condition—'the man who would communicate cannot speak a colour (*ἀρχὴν γάρ οὐ δέ λέγει χρῶμα ἀλλὰ λόγον*), and so the idea of it cannot be received either (*ώστε οὐδὲ διανοεῖσθαι χρῶμα ἔστι*).'<sup>1</sup> The words *ώστε οὐδὲ διανοεῖσθαι χρῶμα* *ἔστι* are the categorical equivalent of what is put in the interrogative form above—*δοὺς τις μή ἐννοεῖ πῶς ἀνταρ'* *ἄλλον λόγων ἐννοήσειν*; If this is so, *ἄλλα ὄραν* has been wrongly added on the analogy of *ἔαν μὲν χρῶμα ἴδων*, and so also *ἄλλα ἀκούειν*, to make clearer what was supposed to be intended.

The next sentence is obviously corrupt:—*εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐνδέχεται, γιγνώσκει τε καὶ ἀναγνώσκει λέγειν, ἀλλὰ πῶς ὁ ἀκούων τὸ αὐτὸν ἐννόησει*; Apelt reads *εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐνδέχεται γιγνώσκει εἰ τε καὶ ἀναγνώσκει*.

is hard to see how *ἀναγνώσκειν λόγον* could be suitable. The argument seems to show what is required. The procedure is to deny certain propositions which seem obviously true, then to concede them and show that even then certain other propositions, held to be true, are false. 'There is nothing real. Even if there is anything real it cannot be known. If it cannot be known it cannot be communicated, because a man cannot tell what he knows.' After the proof of the last proposition, it would be natural to negate it again like the rest hypothetically, and draw a consequence: and this leads to a simple emendation—*εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐνδέχεται γιγνώσκειν τε καὶ ἀναγνώσκει*;

A little below for *εἰ τι ἐν τοιούτον εἴησαν* *ἄλλ' οὐ δύο εἴην* Apelt reads *εἰ <γάρ> τι ἡν τοιούτον οὐ, εἰς ἄν, ἄλλ' οὐ δύο εἴην*. But the preceding clause makes it likely that *ἐν τοιούτον* conceals *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ*, and one may propose *εἰ γάρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ η σαν εἰς ἄν ἄλλ' οὐ δύο εἴην*.

In the next sentence, *φανεραι δ' οὐδὲ αὐτὸν ὅμοια αἰσθανόμενος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ*, perhaps Apelt is right in making no change, but *δοὺς αὐτός* (already suggested by Foss) seems better than *αὐτός*.

980<sup>b</sup>, 17, *ώστε σχολὴν ἄλλω πᾶν ταῦτα αἰσθούσι τις.* Apelt adopts Syllburg's correction *σχολῆ*: but a further alteration seems probable, *ἄλλω γ' ἄν* instead of *πᾶν γε* seems required because of the *a fortiori* argument (*σχολῆ*) to emphasize *ἄλλω* in contrast with *αὐτὸς αὐτῷ*, and *ἄν* also seems necessary.

In the next line, 980<sup>b</sup> 15, Apelt reads *οὐτοις οὐκ ἔστιν (ἔστιν!), εἰ ἔστι τι τι, γνωστόν, <εἰ δοὺς γνωστόν>*. This is very ingenious and near the MSS., but it is difficult to acquiesce in the position of *γνωστόν* unless a parallel were given from this treatise: contrast e.g. 974<sup>a</sup> 1 *ἄδιον εἴναι φρονεῖ τι ἔστιν.* Besides, though this is a minor difficulty, in this place we hardly want the repetition of the proposition *οὐκ ἔστι γνωστόν*, *εἰ ἔστι τι*, it is the conclusion of the argument that if anything is knowable it cannot be communicated, and sums up the reasons for that only—*δούς τε τῷ μή εἴναι τὰ πράγματα λόγους κ.τ.λ.* Perhaps it would be enough to write *οὐτοις οὐν εἰ ἔστι τι γνωστὸν οὐδὲς ἄν αὐτὸν ἐγέρη δηλώσειν*, and suppose that *ἐν ἔστι* has arisen from a ditto graph of *εἰ ἔστι*.

The last words, 980<sup>b</sup> 19, have been variously emended. *ἄπαντα δὲ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἐτέρων ἀρχαιοτέρων εἴσιν ἀπορίαι* Foss; *ἄπαντα δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐτέρων ἀρχαιοτέρων εἰσίν ἀπορίαι* and *ταῦτα ἔξεταστέον* Mullach. Apelt sug-

<sup>1</sup> I  
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could show deny iously even to be real. not be not be t tell of the al to hypo d this è και σκει γρει; εἴησαν τι ἡ τ at èr may l's ar αὐτὸς πόρῳ ange, seems ratiō correc seems πᾶν. rtiori ω in eems oūtōs Κ ei & near ce in were 74<sup>4</sup>1 though we eitition usion g is and re τὸ haps v ei reuer, in a been και rasai opia sug-

gests ἀπαγάγειν δέ (ορ ἀπαντητέον δέ) καὶ τούτοις καὶ ἔτερων ἀρχαιοτέρων τισιν ἀπορίας, but this does not give a satisfactory reason for what follows, ὅστε ἐν τῇ περὶ ἑκείνων σκέψει καὶ ταῦτα ἔξεραστέον, which would be rather a *non sequitur*. One might conjecture ἀπαγαγεῖν δὲ καὶ οὐ>αὶ ἀντὶ ἔτερων ἀρχαιοτέρων εἰσὶν ἀπορία. This is one of the places in the margin of which some MSS. have the scribe's note τὸ πρωτότοπον λίαν ἐσφαλμένον, καὶ μή τίς ποι μεμφέτω καθὼς γὰρ ὥρω, οὐτῶ γράφω.

In concluding these remarks upon one of the Pseudo-Aristotelian treatises edited by Apelt, it is right to call attention once more

to the high level of Aristotelian scholarship maintained in it throughout. Much more space has been given in the *Review* to points of difference than to points of agreement, and that could scarcely be avoided. Really the points of difference are by far the less numerous and important. In most cases they relate to passages where the text probably does not admit of anything like certain restoration. Enough has been said perhaps to show how successful the editor is when the MSS. give fairly adequate materials for emendation.

J. COOK WILSON.

#### LEVI'S EDITION OF LUCIAN'S PEREGRINUS.

*Luciani Samosatensis libellus qui inscribitur περὶ τῆς Περεγρίνου τελευτῆς* recensuit LIONELLO LEVI. Berlin : Wiedmann. 1892. pp. 54. 1 M. 80 pf.

The story of Peregrinus, who, like Cagliostro in latter days, belongs to a noble profession that was fairly crowded in the second century of our era—the profession labelled by Carlyle ‘thaeumaturgic moralist and swindler’—has been popularized by Mr. Froude in his short study on Lucian. But there existed hitherto no separate edition of Lucian's exposure of the impostor except that published at Paris in 1653, which is the work of Madame Dacier's father, Tanaquil Faber. We have now a new and meritorious edition, which, while it renders more accessible one of the best of Lucian's tracts, is also a contribution to the textual criticism of the Samosatene.

Levi has collated the ‘de morte Peregrini’ in six MSS. lettered V<sub>1</sub> P<sub>1</sub> V<sub>2</sub> P<sub>2</sub> V<sub>3</sub> Y. Of these V<sub>1</sub>—V<sub>3</sub> are in the Vatican, Y in the library of St. Mark, Venice. The title-page indeed bears the words *nunc primum inspectis*, but this must be interpreted to mean that Levi is the first who has published a collation of the text of this dialogue from the MSS. indicated; for it is very unlikely that no predecessor has read the tract in a MS. so important as V<sub>1</sub> (Vat. 90, called Γ by Rothstein). In addition he has re-read Ω (Marc. 434) post Sommerbrodtium.<sup>1</sup> Lastly he gives also Fritzsche's readings from F (*Guelpheritanus primus*).

<sup>1</sup> It has also been collated by van Herwerden, whose *Plutarchea et Lucianeā* Levi has not taken into account.

Owing to the innumerable variations in the MSS. of Lucian, the variants of any half-dozen MSS. are certain to add something of value to our knowledge of the text. In more than a dozen cases Levi's MSS. have yielded better readings than those hitherto known: and from these MSS. he is able to confirm some of Fritzsche's and Cobet's conjectures, while he gives reasons for rejecting others. One might wish that he had taken into account the following proposals, which appear well worthy of consideration. In § 16 οὐδὲν ἐπράχθη ἀλλ' ἐμμένειν ἐκελεύσθη οἷς ἀπαξ διέγνω, van Herw. reads οὐδὲν ἐπράξει: in § 38 καὶ τὰλλα ἐπιτλήκτως καὶ ἀπονεομένους βεβιώκτι καὶ οὐκ ἀναζίως τοῦ πυρός, A. Baer proposes οὐκ ἀναζίω: in § 34 τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ἀπαγομένοις ἡ ὑπὸ τοῦ δημίου ἐχομένοις πλείους ἔπονται, van Herw. suggests ἐλκομένους for ἐχομένους.

The editor has occasionally altered the text *suo iure*, undoubtedly for the better in most cases. In one case however he is almost certainly in error. In § 13 the vulgate has ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης ὁ πρότος ἐπεισεῖν αὐτὸς ὡς ἀδελφοὶ πάντες εἶνεν ἀλλήλων, ἐπειδὴν ἀπαξ παραβάντες θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς Ἐλληνικοὺς ἀπαρήσσωνται, τὸν δὲ ἀνεκολοπισμένον ἔκεινον σφιστὴν αὐτῶν προσκυνῶσι καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἔκεινον νάρους βιώσι. καταφρονοῦσιν οὖν ἀπάντων ἐξ ισηρῶν καὶ κονὰ ἤγουνται. Levi says ‘tantum homines fratres fieri, cum Graecorum deos repudiaverint, absurdum est sententia, neque ullo modo Christo tribuenda,’ and so introduces a violent change into the text. But Christian readers will see at once, if only from the words κονὰ ἤγουνται, that ἀδελφοὶ is here used in the Pauline sense, and that Lucian is assuming that the prac-

tice of the early Christian church is derived from the express teaching, the *ipsissima verba*, of its Founder. For *aὐτῶν* here Levi reads *aὐτόν* with *P<sub>1</sub>*: and in § 12 λόγοι ἵεροὶ *aὐτῶν* ἀλέγοντο he substitutes *aὐτοῖς* (= *ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ*) for the same word. But it is

not easy to see why *aὐτῶν* may not be possessive in both passages.

This publication sufficiently proves the desirability of a new recension of Lucian, and the task is one which the editor is well qualified to undertake. E. C. MARCHANT.

### THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER.<sup>1</sup>

THE gratitude of all Biblical students is due to M. Bouriant for having recently in the *Mémoires de la mission Archéologique Française* given to the world a fragment of the 'Evangelium Petri,' the MS. of which was allowed by the ignorance or carelessness of its discoverer to lie unnoticed at Cairo for no less than six years. In dealing with the text, which is accompanied by a French translation, M. Bouriant has modestly refrained from any attempts at alteration or emendation. 'J'ai préféré (he says) donner le texte tel qu'il est dans l'original, pensant que les hellénistes et les théologiens sauront gré à un égyptologue de ne point se hasarder sur leur territoire. Les pages qui suivent sont une pure transcription que je me suis attaché à rendre aussi fidèle que possible.' The unfortunate illness of Professor Sanday coupled with the fact that M. Bouriant's transcript lay for nearly three weeks in the Bodleian before a single person in Oxford was aware of its presence there may partially explain the practical monopoly which Cambridge has had in the editing of the Petrine fragments. Yet Oxford was not left in complete ignorance, for on November 29th Mr. Headlam read before an audience at All Souls a full and interesting account of the newly-discovered gospel, which was subsequently published in the *Guardian* of December 7th.

The main point of interest with respect to the fragment before us lies in its relation to the four canonical gospels. All who have as yet handled the subject maintain that it must clearly have borrowed from these. 'To the writer,' says Mr. Robinson in his able introduction, 'they all stand on an equal footing,' and Mr. Headlam asserts that the use of the canonical gospels cannot

be doubted. But is the 'unmistakable acquaintance of the author with our four Evangelists' so clearly proved? If we take 120-140 A.D. as the approximate date of the Evangelium Petri, it is by no means certain that our N.T. gospels (although they doubtless existed) were at all universally known and read at this time in Asia Minor. Even in this brief fragment the divergences from the narratives of the New Testament are very numerous, and it is difficult to see why the writer if he had our gospels before him should have altered and added to their tradition in so marked a manner. When such changes can be traced to a 'tendency' the difficulty of course disappears, but the Gnostic and Doketic bent of the writer cannot account for the majority of the differences, and has, I venture to think, been somewhat exaggerated. For instance, why should our Lord's cry upon the Cross η δύναμις μου, η δύναμις, κατέλευθά με be necessarily Doketic? Surely if the writer wished to lay stress on the abandonment of the human Christ by the Λόγος at the Crucifixion, he would scarcely have selected the above words in lieu of the ordinary ο Θεός μου κ.τ.λ. which suited Doketism much better,—as we see from Irenaeus' account of the Valentinians, ἐν τῷ εἶπεν, ο Θεός μου εἰς τί ἐγκατέλιπτέ με; μεμρυκέναι αὐτὸν ὅτι ἀπελείφη ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς η Σοφία κ.τ.λ. (Iren. I. viii. p. 38 ed. Massuet). The quotation merely adds one more to the many indications we possess that in the 2nd and 3rd centuries numerous varieties existed in the Greek rendering of the Hebrew Scriptures. In the present instance, the writer read Eli for Eloi and the ηλ of 'Ισραήλ is expressly rendered by δύναμις in the 'Trypho' of Justin, while Aquila and Eusebius translated Eli by ισχυρέ and ισχύς (cp. Mr. Armitage Robinson's note, p. 21).

A large number of facts are adduced to prove a knowledge of the canonical gospels, but they do not appear to be convincing. That an apocryphal narrative should contain

1. *The Apocryphal Gospel of Peter: the Greek Text of the Newly-discovered fragment.* 1s. (Macmillan.)

2. *The Gospel according to Peter.*—A lecture by J. Armitage Robinson, B.D. 2s. 6d. (C. J. Clay and Sons.)

3. *A Popular Account of the Newly-recovered Gospel of Peter,* by Prof. J. Rendel Harris. 2s. 6d. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

the guarding and sealing of the tomb recorded by the writer of St. Matthew is indeed very natural, but even here there are so many differences that any direct connection between the two accounts seems improbable. The breaking of the legs is said to be clearly borrowed from St. John; why then is it handled in so utterly different a manner? If the trial before Herod is taken from St. Luke why are the details so varied? No certain inferences can be drawn from the occurrence of a common word like *παρέκυψαν* or the employment of *καθίζω* in an active sense. The larger Cambridge edition has placed in the margin of the text more than thirty references to our N. T. gospels; but in most of these the similarity is very faint, and few exhibit any close likeness. All that we can safely infer from the fragment is that it made use of certain *διηγήσεις*, written or oral, which contained some facts recorded and others unrecorded by the four canonical gospels. But if such extraordinary corruption and variety of narrative could exist in Christian communities by 125 A.D. what may have happened 40 years before?

As all who have hitherto touched upon the text admit that further emendation is desirable, I have less hesitation in venturing to make the following suggestions.

§ 1. *οὐδὲ εἰς* can hardly be right, as we find in the line before *οὐδεῖς*, and such elisions are foreign to the Greek of this fragment. Either an *ε* has dropped out after *οὐδὲ* or else perhaps the words were *οὐδέ τις*. It is difficult to translate Mr. Robinson's *καὶ βουληθέντων*, for we cannot well suppose that the Jewish leaders suddenly altered their minds. Moreover this reading neglects the lacuna which one infers from M. Bouriant's edition. *καὶ μὴ βουληθέντων ἀνέστη Πειλάτος* fills up this lacuna and gives a good sense. But if M. Bouriant's [*τῶν*] indicates that something like this word is visible on the parchment, perhaps *καὶ πέρ τινων* may end the first sentence, but in this case, as with Dr. Swete's text, *ἀνέστη Πειλάτος* is very abrupt.

The comma after *ποιῆσαι* in Dr. Swete's edition is probably due to a printer's error.

*πεφοευμένῳ* is a strange word to use of an executed criminal; it does not occur in the LXX. *τῆς ἐρτῆς αὐτῶν* looks very like a gloss.

§ 3. Mr. Harris' *σύρωμεν* is a happy conjecture, but it does not harmonize very well with *ὤθουν*, and this exclamation from our Lord's prosecutors seems somewhat flat. Can the original have been *θυμώμεν*, let us

'make angry' or 'provoke'—a LXX. word? Perhaps *σταυρῶμεν* might gain some support from the fact that *σ* occurs for *στ* later on in *ἐπισάντας*.

§ 4 *μηδένα πόνον* is not satisfactory, for there is no reason for the disappearance of an *Δ*; but may not the final syllable of the first word have caused an *ΕΝ* to drop out before *πόνον*? *ὡς μηδὲν ἔμπονον ἔχων* would be a further indication of Doketism, and *ἔντονον* would cause no difficulty for we find *ἔνθανσαι* in § 11.

Dr. Swete has kept the double augment in *ἔόρθωσαν* and there seems to be need for its erasure. It is a curious coincidence that two of the three Cambridge editions have made *σταυρόν* properispomenon in this section. Is there any other instance of *σκελοκοπεῖν*?

§ 5. There appears to be no warrant for the insertion of *γάρ* after *γέγραπται*. Perhaps the clause is a gloss which has slipped into the text.

The writer follows, probably, a sound tradition in placing the Crucifixion between midday and three o'clock in the afternoon, and further in representing the darkness as extending over *πάσαν τὴν ἡμέραν*.

*ἐπεσάν τε* is not a satisfactory correction of the unintelligible *ἐπέσαντο*; *τε* is not found in the rest of the fragment, and the words 'and they fell down' are very insipid. Nor again is it probable that the original was (as Mr. Redpath suggests in the Academy of Dec. 10th) *περιῆρχοντο μετὰ λύχνων νομίζοντες...ξέσταντο*. The second clause is much too abrupt and *ξέσταντο* is violent. I venture to suggest that the passage ran as follows,—*περιῆρχοντο...μετὰ λύχνων, νομίζοντες ὅτι νῦν ἔστι, μὴ πέσοντο* (or perhaps *ἴνα μὴ πέσοντο*). There is no great difference in uncials between *νετ* and *μην* and the writer elsewhere confuses *ε* and *η*.

*αὐτῆς ὥρας* is a strange expression, though the occurrence of words like *αὐθημέρον*, *αὐθωρεῖ* offer some support to such a use of *αὐτός*. Perhaps the *αὐτὸς ὥρας* of the MSS. conceal some more serious corruption. As the subject of *ἀνελήφθη* is *ὁ Κύριος* and the verb can only mean 'was taken up' some degree of confusion seems to exist, for it is still *ὁ Κύριος* who is placed in the sepulchre. Would not a Gnostic writer have been more precise in describing *what* was taken up?

§ 8. In line 29, *μετά* is a very violent alteration. Had the original been *κατά*, the occurrence of *μετά* after *μέγαν* would have been easily explicable, but *κατά* cannot very well have replaced *μετά*. Dr. Swete

leaves κατά, but the resulting sense is ludicrous. Perhaps the corruption lies in ὄμοι or ὄμοι which seems redundant and out of place. Or did the text run originally—καὶ κυλίσατες λίθον μέγαν κάτω, τὸν κεντυρίωνος καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅντων ὄμοι, πάντες κ.τ.λ.?

§ 10. The αὐτόι of the three editions seems to be a certain correction of αὐ οἱ and the Greek is excellent; it is difficult to understand why Mr. Redpath thinks ἀλλοι better.

Mr. Robinson's τὸν δὲ χειραγωγούμενον is most convincing. Dr. Swete's ἵπορθονμένον is probably due to a slight inconsistency between ἵπορθον and χειραγωγεῖν. Mr. Redpath's τὸν δὲ χειραγωγούμενον... ἵπερβαίνοντα spoils the balance of the clauses and necessitates a violent change in the second participle.

Did ἐκήρυξας τοῖς κοιμωμένοις actually form part of the hymn in the Ep. to the Ephesians,

ἐκήρυξας τοῖς κοιμωμένοις,  
ἔγειρα ὁ καθεύδων κ.τ.λ.?

There is no apparent need for the question after κοιμωμένοις, nor again for the change of the MS. reading ἵπακοη into the nominative. With the dative the Greek runs quite smoothly—‘and in response there was heard &c.’ As to the concluding words of the sentence Dr. Swete’s τὸ ναὶ seems pre-

ferable to ὅτι ναὶ as being nearer to the MS.; and is there any parallel for ὅτι introducing the quotation of a *single word*? It is curious to find the technical use of ἵπακοη and τὸ ναὶ at so early a date. The latter word is not in all probability an answer (‘Yea’) to a question, but simply = ‘Amen’ to the utterance ἐκήρυξας τ. κοιμωμένοις. I can find no example of ναὶ as an affirmative response to a liturgical question, but Mr. Brightman has kindly shown me several places where the word is used like ἀμήν. For instance in Lord Bute’s *Coptic Morning Service*, p. 76, the deacon says ΔСПАЗЕСӨЕ ΔΛΛΗАОҮС ЕΝ ФИЛHМАТI ΔГИW and the congregation answer НДI. Again ναὶ, κύριε seems fairly common at the end of a prayer, e.g. *Acta Joannis*, ed. Zahn, p. 239, we find κύριε, βοήθησον ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ σου τοῖς δούλοις· ναὶ, κύριε. This solemn ‘amen’ suits the context better than ‘yea,’ for even granted the question, it is *not addressed to the Cross at all*.

§ 12. The insertion of ἡτι before φοβουμένη seems unwarrantable. If any emendation is needed in this section perhaps δέ may be inserted after λαβοῦσα, on the supposition that it has dropped out before the με of the following μετά.

E. N. BENNETT.

#### MORRIS'S EDITION OF THE PSEUDOLUS OF PLAUTUS.

*The Pseudolus of Plautus.* With introduction and notes by E. P. MORRIS. Boston. 1890.

THE basis for the text of this edition is the standard edition of Goetz (Leipzig 1887), which Prof. Morris has followed very closely. This is to be regretted in some measure, for while the superiority of Goetz's edition over preceding ones is unquestionable, there is still much of it that is unsatisfactory, especially the treatment of the *cantica* in the fourth act, where Goetz has been very bold, and also very infelicitous, in his emendations. The few variations in the present text are mentioned with sufficient but not entire completeness in the preface. They are mainly changes in orthography, with a return to the MSS. reading in some cases. Few emendations of other critics are inserted and but one of the editor's own; a change of order in v. 792 where, instead of the MSS.

*Nam ego si iuratus peiores hominem quaererem.* Prof. Morris reads *nam ego peiores hominem si iuratus quaererem.* By this change the sense is slightly benefited; though the passage is probably best considered as a pronounced case of colloquial inexactness.

An introduction of thirty-two pages gathers up what is known of the *Pseudolus*. To this is added a chronological sketch of the development of Roman Comedy, and a slight discussion of the metres of Plautus. It is unfortunate that no edition as yet contains an adequate treatment of this latter subject.

The commentary is very complete and bears abundant evidence of the editor's wide reading in Plautine literature in numerous references to the latest books and dissertations. In a number of notes the editor gives the results of his own labours: especially in those on the interrogative particles,

which have since been embodied in a series of valuable papers in the *American Journal of Philology*. We may also notice with approval, among others, the notes on *eccam* in v. 36, with which however students should now compare Sonnenschein's Excursus to his edition of the *Rudens*; on the pleonastic use of *dicam*, v. 106; on *officium* v. 375; on *ilico*, v. 490; on *habitat*, v. 597; on *quaestus*, v. 1197; on *paene*, v. 1279.

On the other hand the treatment of syntactical questions leaves much to be desired. See, among others, the following notes: v. 274 *misereat si.....possim*, 'a condition contrary to fact;.....in all these cases the context proves that the conditions are such as would have the impf. or plupf. subj. in classical Latin.....'. It is clear however, that this is a genuine early construction and not merely a vivid substitution of pres. for impf.' It is quite erroneous to class this as a condition 'contrary to fact.' All subjunctive conditions are, in a way, 'contrary to fact' as they do not represent real actions. But they are also in a similar manner 'ideal' for the same reason. When they are put in historical tenses the statement is fixed by the present or past fact; when in primary tenses the statement is not so fixed and hence remains ideal. Thus in the present passage the condition is unreal in that it is ideal, but it is not 'contrary to fact,' as the speaker does not choose to emphasize by the employment of historical tenses the existence of a positive and correcting fact. Again v. 286 *si amabas* 'condition contrary to fact.' This is a worse blunder than the former. The indicative is the argumentative form of the condition. No implication of reality or unreality is given. Here *si amabas* is a logical protasis and the *invenires mutuum* in the apodosis is 'jussive of the past': 'if you were in love you should have found etc.' The other side of the argument would be something like, 'if you were not in love, you acted properly.' The passage quoted by the editor to sustain his position from *Rudens* 379, *quid faceret? si amabat rogas quid faceret?* is to be translated *what was he to do? if he was actually in love do you ask what he was to do?* This is purely argumentative, and Sonnenschein has the right conception when he calls this an 'open condition in the past.'

Again, v. 755 *ceterum quo quicque pacto faciat ipsi dixerit*, 'faciat is jussive, though it is in a subordinate clause.' In reality *faciat* represents an original deliberative *faciam*. V. 796 *esset.....coquat*. 'The question of the sequence of tenses in Pl. cannot be regarded as settled. As a matter of fact the pres. and perf. subj. often depend upon the impf. or perf. where the later usage would require impf. or plupf.' The rule which requires the impf. or plupf. after historical tenses is in no period of Latin without exceptions in the best writers (cf. the discussions by Prof. Hale in *A.J.P.* vii., viii., ix.); and in the majority of cases the reasons for the shift can be easily felt. Here the pres. is a construction according to sense. V. 863 *si iste ibit, ito; stabit, astato simul*. On *stabat* the editor says: 'this is the early form of conditional (interrogative) sentence without *si*; .....it is not to be explained here by supplying *si*, but its use is made easier by the previous conditions with *si*' It is very doubtful whether parataxis can be applied legitimately here, as it seems almost impossible to conceive that a sane man should, in the midst of a number of subordinate clauses, insert suddenly a paratactic clause with no apparent reason. The explanation is much simpler. The passage contains six lines, every one introduced by *si*, every one containing a single condition, except the line quoted, which has two; but, these two are but two sides of the same idea and hence the *ibit, ito*, and *stabat, astato* are merely bracketed together under one *si*.

These few quotations are ample to show that the editor's grammatical notes are not what the other good points of the book would lead us to expect.

Misprints are rare. In Arg. I. 3 *cum* has been omitted from the text by a strange oversight. In the notes the following slips have been observed: v. 21 for 'Einf., S. 36 f.' read Einf., Anm. 36, S. 37 f. V. 308. The compositor has made a hash of the old German saying quoted; there are four misprints in seven words. V. 335 reference to the Greek *εἰς* (sic) *κόρακας*. V. 1322, a note on *nonne*, when the text shows *non*.

GONZALEZ LODGE.

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GRANT ALLEN ON THE *ATTIS* OF CATULLUS.

*The Attis of Catullus*, translated into English Verse with Dissertations on the Myth of Attis, on the Origin of Tree-worship, and on the Galliambic Metre, by GRANT ALLEN, B.A., formerly Postmaster of Merton College, Oxford. London : D. Nutt. 1892. 7s. 6d.

THIS little essay forms the sixth volume of the *Bibliothèque de Carabas*. With the author of *The Golden Bough* Mr. Grant Allen holds Attis to have been a tree-spirit. In his excursus on the origin of tree-worship he endeavours to reconcile and fuse together the two apparently discrepant theories of Mr. Frazer and Mr. Spencer, and 'to show in brief outline that the tree-spirit and the corn-spirit, like most other deities, originate in the ghost of the deified ancestor.'

As to the Galliambic metre I am glad to see that Mr. Grant Allen protests against the admission of Ionic a minore feet, and I agree with him that such a modification of the metre would be fatal to its effect. In his translation of the *Attis* I cannot recognize any quality even remotely suggesting the Latin metre.

'Across the roaring ocean with heart and with eye of flame'

seems to me a tranquil movement, and suggests

'From Greenland's icy mountains, from India's coral strand.'

I think the Latin metre is clearly indicated by Tennyson and by Mr. George Meredith, who have grasped the fact that the salient feature of the rhythm is the piling up of short syllables at the end of the verse. Tennyson has hit on the only way of suggesting in English verse this rhythmical effect, namely, the employment at the end of the verse of polysyllables with the accent thrown back as far as possible, such words as *legionaries*, *confederacy*, *chariot-steeds*, *estuary*, *ceremony*. I do not think the ancients, who were misled by the theory of an Ionic basis (a heresy now abandoned), understood the metre, which seems to me to be, as one would expect in such an orgiastic whirlwind of song, violently antispastic. Of such a metrical device we have a fine specimen in Pindar's second Olympian beginning

ἀναξιφόρμυγγες ἵμυροι

~ | ~ — || ~ | ~

an iambic immediately followed by a trochaic dipody. I regard the *Attis* as exhibiting throughout this antispastic movement, thus :

~ | ~ | ~ | ~ ? || ~ | ~ | ~ | ~ ? | ~ | ~ | ~

I have indicated by a query (?) two varieties of the metre which rest each on a single verse and which, as will be seen, perhaps call for correction. The last foot is of course regarded as common.

Thus the first half exhibits the varieties of the iambic metre, iambi and anapaests ; the second those of the trochaic, trochees and dactyls, spondees and tribrachs being common to both. The metrical device by which Catullus succeeded in giving such a wildly orgiastic effect to the poem was the very frequent resolution of the final dactyl into ~ | ~ | ~, thus bringing about the concurrence of five short syllables.

The most constant feet are the closing foot of the iambic movement, which is always an iambus, except in one verse, 63 ; and the trochee, which in the trochaic movement always precedes the final (generally resolved) dactyl, except in one verse, 91. In the latter, 91, we should probably read, with Scaliger,

Dea mag | na Dea | Cybell || e Didym | i

Dé | a domína,

thus reducing to the normal form a verse which stands alone in the form

Dea mag | na Dea | Cybell || e dea | domína |

Dindimí

Verse 63

ego mul | ier eg | o adolec | ens ego eph |  
ebus | ego puer

might be brought into the normal form by omitting the *ego* before *adolecens*. But though each of these verses affords a solitary example of a certain metrical phenomenon, in neither case is that phenomenon at all open to objection ; so that it is by no means

necessary to resort to emendation in either case. Corrected or uncorrected the verses equally well fit the theory that the rhythm of the *Attis* is essentially antispastic.

Mr. Grant Allen says he knows of only two modern imitations of the metre of the *Attis* in Latin verse, one composed for the tercentenary festival of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1846, the other a translation of 'The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold' by that brilliant scholar the late Dr. Badham. There is an admirable version of part of *Oenone* in this metre by Robert Burn of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the *Sabrinae Corolla*, p. 163 (ed. 2). The next experiment, I think, was made by Max Cullinan in *Kottabos*, vol. I. p. 111, in a very spirited rendering of a passage from Southey's *Thalaba*, afterwards published in *Dublin Translations*, p. 259. I do not think any one else essayed this metre (at least in print) till J. Bury of Trinity College, Dublin, gave to *Kottabos* (New Series, vol. I. p. 367) a most scholarly translation from Matthew Arnold's *Bacchanalia*. To the next succeeding number of the same Magazine (vol. II. p. 5) I contributed a version of another passage in the poem chosen by the translator in the *Sabrinae Corolla*. I send a copy of my attempt. Let me observe that in Lewis and Short the antepenult of *scaturigo* is wrongly marked long. None of the versions to which I have referred follow Badham in admitting the Ionic foot.

#### OENONE.

O mother Ida, many-fountain'd Ida,  
Dear mother Ida, hearken ere I die !  
For now the noon-day quiet holds the hill :  
The grasshopper is silent in the grass ;  
The lizard, with his shadow on the stone,  
Rests like a shadow, and the cicala sleeps.  
The purple flowers droop ; the golden bee  
Is lily-eradled : I alone awake.  
My eyes are full of tears, my heart of love :  
My heart is breaking, and my eyes are dim,  
And I am all a-weary of my life.

O mother Ida, many-fountain'd Ida,  
Dear mother Ida, hearken ere I die !  
Hear me, O earth ! Hear me, O hills ! O  
caves

That house the cold-crown'd snake ! O  
mountain brooks,  
I am the daughter of a river-god :  
Hear me, for I will speak, and build up all  
My sorrow with my song, as yonder walls  
Rose slowly to a music slowly breathed,  
A cloud that gather'd shape : for it may be  
That while I speak of it a little while,  
My heart may wander from its deeper woe.

TENNYSON.

#### GALLIAMBI.

o mater Ida multa scaturigine rigua,  
age voculam occidentis genitae accipe  
genetrix !  
medius dies iugorum silet in columnibus :  
iaciens lacertus umbram iacet umbra lapide  
utei :  
per agros silent cicadae, sompus gravis  
operit :  
calycum calore languent hyacinthina capita :  
in lilioque cunas apis aureola tenet :  
ubi cuneta conquiescant ego sola ego vigilo :  
mihi pupulis hebescit lacrimantibus acies,  
et amore corda abundant mea, totaque pereo.  
iam nunc libet moriri, iam nunc agere  
animam.

o mater Ida multa scaturigine rigua,  
age voculam occidentis genitae accipe  
genetrix !  
audite verba terrae sola, vosque inga fera,  
scatebraeque quae rigatis iuga, vosque  
latibula  
ubi subdit excetra antris gelidam gelida  
iubata !  
genitor Deus cluetur, genitor mihi Fluvius :  
capite auribus loquellas, licetque miseriter  
molem improbam canendo struere aegritudinis,  
ita ut ad graves Apollo sua Pergama  
numeros  
iussit velut crescentem adolescere nebulam :  
siquidem licet canenti mea dura mala  
tamen  
vel paulum ab hac aberrent mea corda  
miseria.

R. Y. TYRRELL.

## LEHMANN'S EDITION OF HOFMANN'S LETTERS OF CICERO.

*Ausgewählte Briefe von M. Tullius Cicero* erklärt von FRIEDRICH HOFMANN. Erstes Bändchen. Sechste Auflage, besorgt von KARL LEHMANN. Berlin: Weidmann. 1892. 2 Mk. 70.

THIS is a most careful and conscientious revision of a standard work; but owing to the efforts which the reviser takes to hide his light under a bushel, his full merits may perhaps fail to obtain their deserved recognition. Since the publication of his *Quaestiones Tullianae* in 1886 Lehmann has been recognized as one of the best exponents of Cicero's *Letters*. He has been prosecuting extended researches into the criticism of the *Epistles to Atticus*, and in this edition he has not only introduced us to several new MSS. but he has also given a summary of the conclusions he has reached as regards the relations of all the MSS. to one another. On this something may perhaps soon be said when his detailed work on the subject is published. In this edition he warns us against excessive devotion to the finds of recent years and he is justly cautious in introducing emendations into the text. Yet we cannot help thinking that he has been too daring in reading *Att. v. 15. 3 modo si me amas, si te a me amari vis, adsis tu* for *modo si me amas sim annuis, adsis tu* [most MSS. *sit annus*: Malaspina's MSS. *sit annuis*], though no doubt such appeals to mutual devotion often occur (*Fam. iii. 9, 2, Att. i. 20. 7*): also in the many lengthy insertions he makes which *may* have been something like what was originally written and which are all carefully thought out and in a measure explain the several corruptions (generally on the principle *ex homoeoteleuto*), but which ought not to be read, at least in a school edition, e.g. *Att. vii. 9. 3 Nobis autem ut quidam putant nihil est timendum maius quam ille consul. At sic malo, inquies, quam cum exercitus.* Certe: sed istud ipsum <*reipublicae est perniciosum*>: sic o magnum malum! putat aliquis. The words in brackets are Lehmann's addition. Surely Boot's proposal to read 'sic malo,' even though not quite satisfactory, is better than that: though we confess to having a strong leaning to the simplest of all the suggestions, that of Tunstall, *istud ipsum 'sic'* (omitting *o*) 'that "thus" of yours.' To the dangers to which this principle of addition may lead L. shows that he is himself alive

when in his note on *Att. i. 16. 9 aut metuendo ignavissimi* he emphasizes the fact that this addition of Lambinus is only a conjecture. If these additions are given in the text, careful indication ought to be made that they are only conjectures either by printing the words in italics or by some other device. Similar additions L. makes in *Att. v. 15. 3 Plura scribam <cum constitero: haec sciebam> tarda tibi redditum iri: Att. viii. 3. 6 Non accipere <periculoso est ab hoc, accipere>, ne ('granted that not') periculoso sit invidiosum ad bonos* [due to Klotz]: x. 8. 1 *quod fieri <nec honestum nec tutum>* [some MSS. have *quod fieri non debet, perhaps rightly*]: ix. 11a. 3 *me et pacis et utriusque vestrum <amicum ad vestram> et ad civium concordiam accommodatissimum esse.* The establishment of this reading is one of the finest arguments in the *Quaest. Tull.* pp. 96–100. He warmly approves of, but does not read, Tyrrell's addition *Coriolani fuga* in *Fam. v. 12. 5.* Other good emendations of L. are *Att. iv. 1. 5 ab infimo* (sc. gradu) [MSS. *ab infima*]: *Att. viii. 3. 2. non futurus <sit qui fuerit>*, ep. *Fam. vii. 3. 4 vetus enim, est, ubi non sis qui fueris non esse cur velis vivere.* Not so acceptable are *Att. iv. 2. 2 dolor et magnitudo odii* [MSS. *dolor et magnitudo* or *doloris et magnitudo*]. Probably the reading of the Oxford *q* is the right one, *doloris magnitudo*, the insertion of a superfluous *et* being a common error in MSS. (cp. O. E. Schmidt *Die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der Briefe Ciceros* p. 281 on the frequency with which a superfluous *et* is inserted by the first hand of M at the beginning of the MS.: Schmidt conceives it to be due to a misunderstood mark of punctuation): *Att. viii. 3. 5 an quo amando?* [*aut quomodo* Malaspina's MSS.] comparing *Att. vii. 13. 3.* The latter reading is probably the right one; and in passing it may be noticed that Malaspina's contributions to the criticism of the *Letters* have been unduly neglected latterly, e.g. *prorogator* in *Att. viii. 3. 3* is most probably the correct reading, not *propagator*, as the archetype was written in uncials: and ix. 9. 4 διάγραμμα in the sense of 'schedule,' 'inventory,' 'detailed statement' (cf. Demosth. xiv. 21, xlvi. 36, 43 and Dio Cass. xlvi. 53) is certainly the best attempt made to explain the difficult *digamma*. This emendation is advocated by Malaspina but due to some one else, perhaps Lambinus. In ix. 18. 2 *heros Celer* (MSS.

*ero sceleri)* 'that great hero, your father-in-law' may perhaps be right. Cicero does use *heros* in our sense of 'hero' (*Att.* i. 17. 9: iv. 3. 5: xiv. 6. 1), but, if the conjecture is right, we must suppose that Atticus in one of his letters mentioned (no doubt ironically) some exploit of this Q. Pilius Celer. But it is simpler to accept Lambinus's *Eros Celeris* 'Pilius's slave Eros.' For *s* final omitted cp. *Fam.* xv. 15. 1 *prae-*  
*tero* for *praeter eos*.

Lehmann is always ready to cordially accept the conjectures of others: and it is no small feature of his edition that he has adopted Bosius's conjecture *λαλαγένσαν* in *Att.* ix. 18. 3 which is at once explicable when we notice that at this time (cp. ix. 7. 5: x. 2. 1) Cicero had in his head the epigram of Leonidas of Tarentum (*Anth. Pal.* x. 1). At viii. 12c. 4 he adopts Boot's *Sicca ab te* [MSS. *sic adpoete*] and x. 8. 3 the same scholar's *Tanta esse poterit indignitas nostra?* which is the reading of the Tornesianus Z, while *Tacita* of the Italian MSS. involves taking *indignitas* 'unworthiness' in the unusual though not impossible sense of 'indignation.' Another good reading adopted from Z is x. 8a. 1 *non possum dissimilare mihi famam quoque, quamvis sit falsa, falsam agnoscerem magni esse* [M omits *falsam agnoscerem*]. He ought to have adopted Boot's *malim* for *malum* in *Att.* ix. 18. 3, a reading the full excellence of which even Boot himself does not appear to have seen, viz. that it does away with the only example which the grammarians had left of the pres. subj. in a prohibition addressed to a definite individual: cp. Madvig. *Opusc. Acad.* p. 485. In i. 19. 10 he rightly omits *si* after *potius* with Tyrrell, vii. 3. 12 adopts Mommsen's *appetierimus*, and ix. 13a accepts Madvig's *posse mihi viderer*. Where no satisfactory emendation has been suggested L. retains the reading Hofmann had adopted, e.g. i. 16. 3 (*ipse nullam* and *salva*): iii. 5 (*Thurii*): ix. 18. 1 (*iram huius in absentes*). He is wrong in not accepting the reading of the second hand of M in *Att.* viii. 3. 4 *Invite* [M<sup>1</sup> in *te*] *cepi Capuam* and adhering to Hofmann's *non recepi*: for, as Prof. Tyrrell points out, Cic. uses the adverb *invite* in *De Orat.* ii. 364. But he is probably right in accepting Nipperdey's conjecture in x. 8. 5 *contendimus* for *condimus* of the Italian MSS. In Harl. 2491 (a MS. very like the Hamilton MS. at Berlin, which is the copy Poggio made in 1408) we find *nec ostendimus* which points to *ne contendimus*. Possibly too he is right in reading viii. 12. 2 *imperatam* ('the province which

had been already assigned me without asking my consent') for *imparatam*: and in defending the MS. reading *iudicata* in ii. 12. 3 by comparing x. 8b. 1, *Fam.* vii. 33. 2 for *iudicare* = *decernere*.

No less valuable are Lehmann's contributions to a better interpretation of the received text. Space does not admit of mention of more than a few of the important notes which have been added in Part III. He accurately explains *Et tamen* (*Att.* x. 8. 6, *Fam.* ix. 9. 3), which had been a stumbling-block to Hofmann and Boot, as affording a second and stronger form of argument, 'and be that as it may,' 'putting these considerations aside,' an explanation similar to that given by Madvig (*Fin.* ii. 84) and Munro (*Lucr.* v. 1177). And he has certainly given the correct interpretation of *Att.* x. 8. 4 *Itaque nunquam id egit ut Hispaniae per se tenerentur* 'Pompey's policy was never the preservation of the Spains for their own sake,' he never made his Spanish provinces his main position, they were not in his eyes essential possessions but only accidental ones, and their loss made little difference in his plans; supremacy by sea was what he aimed at. For *per se* in this sense L. compares *Fin.* i. 25 *per se esset virtus... expectenda*. In *Att.* vii. 3. 11 he is wrong in explaining *aliquis* as referring to Caesar: for though doubtless *aliquis* is occasionally used when referring to a definite individual whom the writer does not wish to name (cp. *Planc.* 85), yet it is impossible to take it in this sense here owing to *illi* preceding. His objection to translating *tantum modo ut* (*Fam.* xvi. 12. 4, cp. *Att.* ix. 10. 4) 'provided only that' and his preference for 'Heaven grant that' introduce at best a needless distinction. Perhaps also he pushes too far his readiness to accept asyndeton of two words (cp. *Quaest. Tull.* pp. 23—26) when he wishes to read x. 8a. 1 *Dolabellam Tulliam*, xiii. 19. 2 *Balbus Oppius*. We are quite unable to follow him in explaining *Fam.* xiv. 7. 1 *id est Apollini et Aesculapio* (words which are certainly a gloss and probably were originally *A. aut Ae.*) as a reflection on the excessive zeal in religious matters which Terentia was likely to display in rendering her thanks to two gods.

But whatever points there may be wherein disagreement is possible, they are very few and seldom admit of more than divergence of individual opinion. On the whole Lehmann's edition is one of the most valuable contributions to the criticism and elucidation of Cicero's correspondence which have appeared recently. L. C. PURSER.

## ESSAYS ON PETRONIUS.

*L'envers de la société Romaine d'après Pétrone*  
(EMILE THOMAS). Pp. xi. and 131. Paris,  
Hachette et Cie. 1892. 3 fr.

THIS book is of little or no value to the scientific student of Petronius, and indeed it is difficult to say to what class of readers it appeals, since it is not suitable for an introduction to the study of the *Satyricon*. After a very brief indication of the contents of the novel, and a discussion of its relation to modern taste, the author treats first of Eumolpus and the poetry of the *Satyricon*, then of Agamemnon and the position of rhetoric under the Empire. Then follows a chapter on 'les petites gens' and their ways and thoughts as revealed by the conversation at Trimalchio's table, another on the banquet itself, and short discussions of the lost portions of the story and the language

and style of Petronius. The book is written in a light and not unpleasing style, with references to modern literature and manners; but such difficulties as e.g. the determination of Trimalchio's place of residence are merely alluded to without being discussed. On p. 21 the author states that the *Satyricon* contains no allusion to the Jews (except a doubtful one mentioned in the foot-note); he has overlooked p. 70, 30. On p. 97 the modern counterpart of Trimalchio is found in Schliemann, and a parallel is drawn in more than questionable taste. The feeling which prompts such allusions to the 'grocer of Mecklenburg' is now happily seldom displayed by serious French writers. On the whole, the book will not add to M. Thomas' reputation.

H. STUART JONES.

## TWO NOTICES OF FURNEAUX'S ANNALS OF TACITUS.

*The Annals of Tacitus*, edited with Introduction and Notes by HENRY FURNEAUX, M.A. Vol. I, 1884. Vol. II, 1891. (Clarendon Press, Oxford.)

WITH the publication of the second volume Mr. Furneaux has brought to completion an edition of the *Annals* of which Oxford is with good reason proud. Mr. Furneaux has not only collected all that is most valuable from former editions, but has brought his work completely up to date by the thorough use which he has made of the latest editions of Mommsen's *Staatsrecht*, the fifth volume of his *Roman History*, Marquardt's *Staatsverwaltung*, and Hirschfeld's *Verwaltungsgeschichte*.

With the aid of these and similar materials Mr. Furneaux has written a series of very complete, accurate and useful introductory essays and appendices—in the first volume on the constitution of the Early Principate, Rome under Augustus and Tiberius, and the character and government of Tiberius—in the second volume on the character and government of Gaius, Claudius and Nero, and on the Neronian persecution of the Christians. There are also extremely useful summaries of events between the end

of the 6th and the beginning of the 11th Books, and between the end of the 16th and the beginning of the *Histories*, while separate chapters deal with the relations of Rome and Parthia, and the Conquest of Britain. The mere titles of these essays show how thorough and exhaustive Mr. Furneaux's work has been on the historical side, but there is also a very complete chapter, based of course mainly upon Draeger, on the syntax and style of Tacitus. The most valuable part of the edition however is the commentary, which, while by no means neglecting literary points of grammar and style, deals mainly as a commentary on Tacitus must, with historical and, in the wide use of the term, archaeological points. It would be difficult to speak too highly of the thoroughness with which this part of the work has uniformly been done; still there are a few points on which it is possible to disagree with Mr. Furneaux, and there are a few omissions which may perhaps be pointed out. All such questionable matters, I think, I have collected in the following notes, which may possibly be interesting to historical students, for whom Mr. Furneaux has provided an immense help by his book. On p. 67 Mr. Furneaux supports his asser-

tion that Augustus received in B.C. 19 'such censorial power as belonged to the regimen legum et morum' by reference to the *Mon. Anc. Gr.* iii. 15. Possibly the last edition of the *Mon. Anc.* (1883) was not published when Mr. Furneaux wrote this, but from the now established and accepted reading it is clear that Augustus (in spite of the assertions of Suet. *Aug.* 27 and Dio Cass. 54, 10) definitely declined the office which indeed was more dictatorial than censorial (see the edition of 1883, p. 28). Apparently connected with this mistake are the assertions (a) that Augustus as 'corrector morum' annually revised the *album senatorium* (p. 69, see also the same mistake in note on ii. 33, 6) and (b) that the expulsion of senators by the princeps was an exercise of his censorial power (see note on ii. 48, 3). With regard to (a), the term 'corrector morum' was not applied to the princeps till the time of Domitian (see Suet. *Dom.* 8), except during his actual censorship (as in Suet. *Tib.* 42); while with regard to (b), it is not the case that the princeps expelled from the senate at all except when actually censor (e.g. Silanus was expelled from the senate per edictum Vitellii when the latter was censor with Claudius, Tac. *Ann.* xii. 4). Apart from these occasions the princeps merely undertook the annual revision of the 'album senatorium' (Dio Cass. 55, 3), and removed from it the names of those senators who on legal grounds had lost or forfeited their qualification. Thus the senators mentioned in ii. 48 were not expelled by any censorial power but merely removed through loss of the senatorial census: while Apidius Merula (iv. 42, 3) was similarly removed, because he had omitted the oath to the 'acta Augusti,' an omission which was no doubt as legally followed by loss of senatorial privileges, as was the omission to swear observance to the laws generally (see the law on the Bantine Table, line 19, Bruns 4th edition, p. 52).

On p. 69 Mr. Furneaux says that in 23 B.C. the 'proconsulare imperium' of Augustus was 'made valid even within the walls of Rome.' I do not think this follows from the words of Dio Cass. 53, 32. It is well known how carefully the proconsulare imperium was omitted in the imperial titulature and how even when it does first appear, as under Trajan, it was only at times when he was away from Rome. All that we can gather from Dio Cassius is that Augustus, instead of laying down this imperium when he entered the city, was allowed to exercise his

government of the provinces and his command of the army from the city (see *Journal of Philology*, No. 41, p. 63).

In the note on 'collega imperii' i. 3, 3 (p. 158) I think it should be noted that what was granted to Tiberius in 13 A.D. was much more than the secondary imperium proconsulare as held by Agrippa and Tiberius on previous occasions and by Germanicus afterwards. The words of Velleius (2, 121) quoted by Mr. Furneaux, and of Suetonius (*Tib.* 21) omitted by him, prove, I think, that Tiberius from this time held the 'imperium proconsulare' in the same sense in which Augustus held it himself, and it is quite in accordance with this that he gave the watchword to the praetorian cohorts 'ut imperator,' and sent letters to the armies 'tanquam principatu adepto' (i. 7, 7-8) immediately on the death of Augustus.

On p. 180, where Mr. Furneaux says that most of Illyricum was placed under the legate of Pannonia, a somewhat clearer note on the wider and narrower sense in which the name Illyricum was used would seem desirable, while it might perhaps have been added in the note on Dalmatia (iv. 5, 5) that Tacitus in calling the province by that name instead of Illyricum is really antedating a description not in official use till the Flavian times.

On p. 196 in the note on Germanicae legiones (i. 31, 1) Mr. Furneaux does not allude to Mommsen's view (*Röm. Gesch.* v. p. 108 note 1) that the two Germaniae were strictly speaking not provinces at all, but formed a part of Belgica, though, as it was found advisable to place the frontier legions under consular legati, practically the civil administration of these districts fell to them also. That officially the legatus of either Germany was leg. Aug. pr. pr. exercitus inf. (or sup.) Germaniae is not only proved by such inscriptions as Wilm. 638, 1260 b, 1293, &c., but confirmed by numerous passages of Tacitus (e.g. i. 31, vi. 30, xiii. 53 and 56), though on the other hand in iii. 41, iv. 73 and xiii. 53 he speaks as if the Germaniae were separate provinces.

In the note on aram Ubiorum (i. 57, 2, p. 227) Mr. Furneaux might have pointed out more clearly that at the time when Germany beyond the Rhine was practically a Roman province this arae had been intended as the provincial centre of the cult of Rome and Augustus and the seat of the provincial concilium, just as the temple to Claudius in Britain followed immediately after the formation of the province. The altar was not set up by the Germans, as Mr. Furneaux

says, but by the Roman conquerors (cf. Dio Cass. 55, 80).

In his note on praetorem Bithyniae (i. 74, 1, p. 247) Mr. Furneaux seems to explain praetor as = praetorius, because all the governors of senatorial provinces must have passed the praetorship. Surely it is rather a survival of the republican times when praetors were sent out as provincial governors. So in xv. 25 praetores includes legati of imperial provinces as well as proconsuls. Similarly Plutarch (*Gall.* 4) calls Vindex Γαλατίας στρατηγός = Galliae praetor. It is a slip on Mr. Furneaux's part to say that the proconsul of Bithynia could ever be termed 'propraetor.'

On p. 249 in the note on 'ad recipitatores itum est' Mr. Furneaux quotes Plin. *Ep.* ii. 11, 2 to show that in such cases the criminal charges were dropped. I think he should also have quoted *Ep.* iv. 9, 19, from which it would seem that a governor who had to go before the iudices or recipitatores usually lost his senatorial rank.

A reference to xiii. 29, 1 will show that Mr. Furneaux is not quite correct in saying on i. 75, 4 that Augustus transferred the charge of the 'aerarium' from quaestors to praetors in 28 B.C.

On p. 326 it is stated that Noricum was at this time an 'inermis provincia' under a procurator. Mr. Furneaux probably does not mean that all procuratorial provinces were inermes, the Mauretanian provinces Raetia and Cappadocia e.g. being very strongly garrisoned. But Tacitus (*Hist.* i. 11) expressly distinguishes Noricum, Raetia, Thrace, &c., from the provinciae inermes, while it appears from *Hist.* iii. 5 that Noricum at the end of Nero's reign had eight cohorts and an ala.

In p. 337 in his note on 'consultatum' Mr. Furneaux infers from what took place after the death of Germanicus that no subordinate legatus was, as such, entitled to represent the 'legatus Augusti' as the quaestor might represent a senatorial proconsul. The passage by no means bears out this inference, since Germanicus, as holding the 'imperium proconsulare,' had under him a number of legati, none more privileged to represent him than the rest. An ordinary legatus would be represented, as Marquardt *Staatsverw.* I. p. 556 shows by numerous instances, by his procurator or occasionally by the legati legionum. See *Hist.* i. 60 and ii. 97.

On the expulsion of the Jews by Tiberius (ii. 84, 5) Mommsen has thrown some fresh light in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 64, p. 408, where he shows that it was the

Roman citizenship of these Jews, intimated by the expression 'libertini generis' and explicitly stated by Philo (*leg. ad Caïum* 23, 24), which made them liable to this interference, while it was the same fact again which deprived them of the benefit of exemption from military service which the Jews enjoyed.

On iii. 12, 2 some notice should, I think, be taken of the strange assertion of Tiberius that he had appointed Piso to be legatus Syriae 'auctore senatu.' No other instance is known of the senate being consulted as to the appointment to an imperial province, though Suetonius says (*Tib.* 30) that Tiberius used to consult the senate 'quibus imperium prorogari, aut extraordinaria bella mandari...placeret.' The case of Pliny who went as legatus to Bithynia, 's.c. missus ab imp. et,' is not really parallel.

On iii. 17, 8 (p. 371) Mr. Furneaux explains the fact that when the princeps presided the magistrates were asked for their sententia like the other senators, by saying that when the consuls presided the other magistrates might speak at any time unasked. Mommsen however has shown, *Staatsr.* iii. p. 944, that magistrates during their time of office lost the right both of giving a sententia and of voting. See also *Hist.* iv. 41.

In iii. 21, 4 a note is wanted on 'iure proconsulis.' Tiberius, it is stated, granted a 'civica corona' to a soldier, complaining that Apronius proconsul of Africa had not given it 'iure proconsulis.' As a matter of fact we find that all military decorations were granted by the emperor himself. But as this was in virtue of his imperium proconsulare, formally every proconsul had the same right. In fact however it was a right which could never be exercised since the proconsul had no military command, with the solitary exception of the proconsul of Africa, who till the time of Caligula had a legion under him and could therefore confer military decorations. Notice the careless generalisation of Suetonius (*Tib.* 32) who implies that legati also could confer militaria dona, which was not the case.

Mr. Furneaux suggests (p. 400) that the cohort mentioned as at Lugdunum (*Hist.* i. 64) may be wrongly written as the eighteenth. This is possible, but the number of praetorian and urban cohorts was considerably increased under Claudius, and there was certainly a cohors XVII. Lugduniensis in the first century (see *Hermes* xvi. p. 645).

On p. 428 (iii. 67, 2) a somewhat fuller note is wanted on 'facundissimis totius Asiae'

ad accusandum delectis.' Mr. Furneaux merely says they were 'the rhetoricians of Ephesus and other Greek cities.' They were of course the legati sent by the concilium of the province to accuse Silanus; just as we hear of 'Cilicum legati' (xvi. 21, 3) in connexion with the accusation of Capito. Neither here nor in connexion with the well-known passage in Bk. xv. 20-22 does Mr. Furneaux make any reference to the functions of these provincial concilia in relation to the accusations of governors.

On iv. 15, 3 it is stated that the existence of procuratores even in all senatorial provinces is attested by numerous inscriptions. I think it should be added that with the exception of Asia we find procuratores in no senatorial province before the time of Claudius.

On p. 462 Messala Volesus is apparently spoken of as having been proconsul of Africa. The reference given shows that Asia was his province.

On iv. 43, 7-8 Mr. Furneaux entirely passes over an important passage connected with the ius exulandi. The point is that Vulcius Rufus by going into exile at Massilia and being admitted to the civitas of that town ceased to be a Roman citizen, and so, as Tacitus says, 'exul in Massilienses receptus bona sua rei publicae eorum ut patriae reliquerat.' To support their claim to the money, the Massilienses brought forward 'P. Rutilii exemplum.' Mr. Furneaux merely refers to iii. 61, 2 where Rutilius is mentioned in quite another connexion. Reference should have been given to Liv. Ep. 70, Cie. *pro Balb.* 11, 28, Vell. Patrc. ii. 13, etc., from which it appears that Rutilius on being condemned under the lex repetundarum went into exile to Smyrna, and became a citizen of that town. Mommsen explains the constitutional aspect of the question (*Staatsr.* iii. pp. 48-49), pointing out that it was only in the case of autonomous towns connected by some kind of foedus with Rome that the ius exulandi held good. An important quotation from Cie. *pro Caecina*, 34, throws a good deal of light on the passage 'Nam quis ex nostro iure durum civitatum nemo esse possit, tum amittitur haec civitas denique quum is qui profugit receptus est in exilium, hoc est in aliam civitatem.' The people of Massilia could put their case in an *a fortiori* form, because Rutilius had been allowed to acquire the civitas in Smyrna, although that was not really an autonomous town.

In iv. 47 1 the difficulty with regard to Poppaeus Sabinus seems to need more notice

than the brief allusion to it made in the note on i. 80, 1. In 15 A.D. Sabinus is certainly legate of Moesia, Macedonia and Achaea (i. 80), in 26 A.D. he is still in command of legions and receives 'triumphi insignia' (iv. 46), in 31 A.D. he is certainly in command of Macedonia and Achaea, while at his death in 36 A.D. Tacitus says that he had been in command of 'maximae provinciae' for twenty-four years (vi. 39), while finally Dio Cassius 58, 25 distinctly says that Sabinus was legate of Moesia and Macedonia during the whole of Tiberius' reign, and that he was succeeded by Memmius Regulus. On the other hand Latinus Pandus is distinctly called *pro praetore Moesiae* in 18 A.D. (ii. 66), Pomponius Flaccus is distinctly said to have succeeded him in 19 A.D. (ii. 66), while Pomponius Labeo is also said 'praefuisse Moesiae' (iv. 47 and vi. 29). I can only state the difficulty here without attempting a solution of it.

In iv. 72, 2 in the note on *e primipilari*-bus Mr. Furneaux might perhaps have given more instances of these 'praefecti' who were put in charge of outlying districts in imperial provinces. The praefectus of the Frisia has already been mentioned in i. 60, 2.

In vi. 11 a clearer and completer note is wanted on the development of the *praefectura urbis* into a continuous office. The 'untrustworthy story' by the by in Suet. *Tib.* 42 is supported by Plin. *H. N.* 14, 22, 145.

On p. 35 in Vol. II. Mr. Furneaux in mentioning the changes in administration made by Claudius says that 'functions hitherto belonging to senators pass to a praefectus curatorum alvei Tiberis.' This however, as Hirschfeld points out (p. 153), was only a temporary change, and we find senatorial *curatores alvei Tiberis* etc. again under Trajan.

On p. 169 at xi. 11, 3 the note on *ludi saeculares* requires to be rewritten in the light of the 'commentaria ludorum saecularium' lately edited by Mommsen.

In notes to two passages relating to the levy of soldiers for the legions, xiii. 7, 1 and xiii. 35, 4 Mr. Furneaux holds a view which since Mommsen's article in *Hermes* xix. on die Conscription-ordnung der röm. Kaiserzeit must be given up. In both these passages the levy was for the oriental legions and was held in the one case 'proximas per provincias,' in the other 'per Galatiam Cappadociamque.' Mr. Furneaux says it would be for young men of citizen blood in these provinces, and the accepted

view certainly was till recently that only Roman citizens were enlisted for the legions. Mommsen however has now shown conclusively that though this was still generally the case in the west, the Oriental and Egyptian legions were mainly composed of provincials from Egypt, Galatia, Syria, Paphlagonia, etc.; who were certainly only peregrini till their enlistment, when they received the civitas together with their admission to a legion. The name for legions formed wholly in this way was vernaculae (see Caes. *B. C.* ii. 20 and conf. i. 31, 4, vernacula multitudo).

Again in a third passage, xvi. 13, 4, Tacitus says that the Illyrian legions were recruited by levies in Gallia Narbonensis, Africa and Asia. Mommsen shows that this statement is to a great extent confirmed by inscriptions. While these prove that the Pannonian legions were almost exclusively recruited from the west, the Dalmatian and Moesian legions seem to have contained a considerable proportion of soldiers from Galatia and other parts of Asia Minor.

On p. 320 to xiii. 9, 3 I cannot think that Mommsen, whom Mr. Furneaux follows, is right in identifying the Arrius Varus who is here 'praefectus cohortis' with the Arrius Varus who several years later gains the position of primipilus as a reward for accusing Corbulo (*Hist.* iii. 6). The latter was more probably son of the former.

On p. 322 on xiii. 11, 2 Mr. Furneaux says that 'the right of pardon belonged in all cases to the princeps.' This is certainly put much too strongly. It would be more true to say that de iure the right of pardon belonged in all cases to the senate, but de facto the princeps continually usurped the right, until through usage it was recognized as legal by the later jurists (see Momms. *Staatsr.* ii. p. 848, and Herzog ii. p. 729).

In the note on 'classi' (xiv. 3, 5, p. 392) where it is stated that the praefecti of the fleet at Misenum were sometimes freedmen, it would have been as well to have added that no such case is known in connexion with the fleet at Ravenna. On p. 411 the note on collegia is extremely incomplete and even misleading, while on the same page, to xiv. 18, 2, the mission of Strabo 'praetoria potestate usum et missum disceptatorem a Claudio agrorum etc.' would have been much better illustrated by Wilm. 874, from which we may infer that Strabo was officially 'legatus Aug. pro praet.' In the note on Paulinus Suetonius

(xiv. 29, 2) it is said not quite correctly that he had been legatus in Mauretania. He was really legatus of the army in Africa, and was only acting in Mauretania in the same way as e.g. Poppaeus Sabinus did in Thrace.

In xiv. 63, 1 a note is perhaps wanted in 'in spem sociandae classis.' Anicetus hoped to be made praefectus of the fleet at Ravenna as well as that at Misenum, as Lucilius Bassus afterwards was under Vitellius (*Hist.* ii. 100).

In the note on Alpium Maritimorum xv. 32, 1 Mr. Furneaux says that this district was formed by Augustus into a small province under an equestrian procurator. This is not quite correct. The province was certainly under a praefectus at first: Strabo in the passage cited by Mr. Furneaux uses the term *παρχός* not *ἐπίτροπος*, and we find a 'praefectus civitatum in Alpibus maritimis' as late as the time of Claudius *C.I.L.* v. 1838). The same is certainly true of Raetia and the Cottian Alps, and probably of Noricum and Cappadocia. The only certain instance of a province being administered by a procurator before the time of Claudius is, I believe, that of Judaea; and here the state of things must have been to a certain extent exceptional, since the procuratores could be deposed by the legati of Syria, whereas we have no reason for supposing that the legates of Moesia or Pannonia or Upper Germany had any such power of deposing the procurators of Thrace or Noricum or Raetia. Marquardt (ii. p. 245), I am aware, says that Sardinia was given in 6 A.D. to a procurator, but the term *στρατιάρχης* used by Dio Cass. (55, 28) answers more to praefectus than to procurator.

In conclusion it may be said that the Index at the end of Vol. II. appears to be a thoroughly complete and useful one; but the book suffers to a certain extent from not having an apparatus criticus, containing at any rate the readings of the Medicean MS. in difficult places. Mr. Furneaux assumes indeed that all his readers will have Halm's edition in their hands, and this omission makes it almost necessary that they should. I hope Mr. Furneaux will, notwithstanding the appearance of another edition, still think it worth his while to edit the *Histories*.

E. G. HARDY.

THE labour of collection and selection which Mr. Furneaux has bestowed on the text of *Annals XI.-XVI.* places his second volume

even above the first as an addition to the literature of Tacitean criticism. Great care has been taken to give the reader every facility for arriving at his own conclusions, when he is not satisfied by those of the editor: in fact Mr. Furneaux' critical and explanatory commentary is a monument of industry and thoroughness. With his judgment in selecting the right reading or the right rendering I do not always agree. But then the textual criticism and interpretation of Tacitus must always be largely a matter of private opinion, not closely dependent upon absolute principles of right or wrong. Where the MS. is an uncertain guide, and where—as is more especially the case in the later books of the *Annals*—acknowledged diversities of usage, *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* of idiom or vocabulary, are so frequent that one is tempted to say *potior lectio dubiae Latinitatis*, certainty of rendering or emendation is very rarely attainable. The right may here be just what in a more consistent author would be the wrong.

I have however noted some passages where I venture to disagree with Mr. Furneaux.

XI. 7 *usui et rebus subsidium praeparari*: better taken as equivalent to *usui esse ut et rebus subsidium praepararetur*, 'it is profitable that some provision be made for practical matters' or necessities of life as distinguished from *fama* above. XI. 10 *obsidio*: not 'by way of hostageship' (F.) but simply 'as a hostage': compare the use of *servitium* for *servus*. XII. 35 *infensos* is not well rendered by 'filled with ardour.' XII. 40 *ut maior laus compositi* etc.: F. keeps the Med. text and translates 'that their pacification might be the greater credit' (*ut maior laus essent compositi*): which involves the very unusual omission of a final subjunctive. I cannot agree that this is more probable than the *compositis* of Nipperdey and Dräger (= *si compositi essent*). But here, as so often, F. himself gives us full opportunity of selection even where he chooses what seems the wrong course. XII. 60 *quae evicerant publice valeant*: not 'were for the advantage of the whole order' (could *valeant* mean this?) but 'affected the whole community': the contrast is, as F. says, with the subsequent ascendancy of individuals. XII. 65 *at novercae insidiis domum—reticuisse*: the understood subject of *reticuisse* must surely be *noverca*: both grammar and sense are against F.'s explanation that the subject is Narcissus. The fact of Agrippina's having blamed the *impudicitia* of Claudius' former wife made her own conduct the worse.

Perhaps F. is right in adopting Halm's alteration of the text in the preceding words: certainly the Med. text makes no sense: but even so the retention of *si Nero imperaret* is an obvious difficulty, as it is meaningless to say that Claudius would have fresh complications like the case of Messalina and Silius on his hands if Nero were to be emperor—for then Claudius would have ceased to reign. XII. 66 *oblatae occasionis* may possibly be rightly explained as a genitive of respect after *propera*: but the construction is extraordinarily harsh and is certainly not justified by the passages quoted in support of it (XI. 26 *ira propterum* and IV. 59 *apiscendae potentiae propterum*): both *ira* and *apiscendae potentiae* are real qualities or actions or characteristics, and the construction is simply like *ardens animi* etc.: but *oblatae occasionis* does not come under this head. Why not read *oblata occasione*? XIII. 15 *levi quidem—quaesivisset*: F. says the subjunctive is used because this is part of Nero's thought: but it is surely an instance of the practice (common in the Silver Age) of coordinating a relative and subjunctive with an attributive adjective or participle: compare *Hist.* III. 9 *egregius ipse et qui solus ad id bellum artes bonas attulisset*. XIII. 21 *aut exsistat* etc.: F.'s rendering does not do justice to *aut*, which indeed seems to be really unexplainable, unless we adopt some such transposition as that suggested by Nipperdey. It would not be a very violent alteration to read *haut exsistat* etc.: 'no one would appear, to accuse me of graver crimes.' XIII. 22 *apud libidines principis*: 'an unprecedented expression, implying quasi-personification, like "apud aures," and thus = *apud principem libidinosum*' (F.): this seems to be unnecessarily farfetched. *Apud* may very well stand for *inter* (compare XII. 1 *apud libertos*) and the meaning will be that Paris was too important among the emperor's dissipations (too necessary to them) to be punished. XIII. 26 the sentence beginning *ille an auctor constitutionis* is hopelessly corrupt, and perhaps it would have been wiser not to attempt any emendation: the result being that neither is the MS. text preserved nor any intelligible substitute given. Possibly *sententiam eorum consultarent* is misplaced and should come (altering *consultarent* to *consultavit*) after *adversos*: *ille an auctor constitutionis fieret ut inter paucos et sententiae adversos sententiam eorum consultavit*. But the passage is beyond remedy. XIII. 42 for *paravisset* F. rightly says we should expect the infinitive: not however because *paravit*

would be used in *oratio recta*, but because the question is 'rhetorical,' not a real question expecting an answer: as in 43 *cur enim neminem alium delectum?* XIV. 7 *nisi quid Burrus et Seneca: quos expergens statim acciverat*: the aoristic use of the present participle is so rare that *nisi quid Burrus et Seneca expedirent: quos statim acciverat* (a reading mentioned by F.) would be certainly preferable. Med. has *expergens quos*. XIV. 15 *deum vocabulis appellantes* surely means 'calling (his beauty and voice) that of the gods,' calling it divine. F. makes *deum* a genitive dependent on *vocabulis*. XIV. 22 for *mutationem regis* I should much prefer Orelli's *mutationem regnis*. XIV. 23 *dux Romanus diversis artibus*: F. calls this a very strange use even for Tac. of the ablative of quality: but it is quite justified by *pacis artibus* in *Hist.* I. 8. XV. 18 *dum aspectui consulitur* is taken by F. as the statement of a general principle: but it seems rather to refer to the particular occasion: the senate allowed the decree to stand because they had regard to appearances. XV. 29 *sublatum capiti diadema* may perhaps be defended by the analogy of the dat. after other words of removal: but it would be simpler to read *capitis*. M. has *sublati capiti*, so that in any case alteration is necessary: perhaps the *i* may be due to the following *imagini*. XV. 44 *odio humani generis convicti* (of the Christians): it seems much better to interpret this as a subjective genitive (the view of Ritter disapproved by F.). They were condemned less for any particular crime than for the general hatred which they aroused. XV. 47 in *sacrificiis quibus gravidas hostias immolari mos est*: explained by F. to mean 'at the sacrifices to the deities to whom *gravidae hostiae* are sacrificed': an interpretation which is not necessary and is scarcely Latin. *Quibus* may very well mean simply 'at which': like *ludis* or *gladiatoriibus*. XV. 58 *laetatum erga conjuratos* etc.: F. follows general opinion in adopting this reading for the *latatum* of Med.: but besides that *erga* must

bear the unusual sense of *coram*, the collocation of *laetatum* with *subiti occursum* seems unhappy. Perhaps the word in Med. might conceal *letalis*, as a predicate of *fortuitus sermo* etc. XV. 60 it is not easy to explain *illud breve mortis arbitrium* as 'the usual short interval for a choice of death.' There would be little difficulty in reading *illi*. XV. 66 *hortaturque ultro redderet tam bono principi vicem: can ultro* as F. says is probably best, go with *redderet?* I should imagine that this is forbidden by the idea of spontaneous initiative contained in the word, and that it is much better taken with *hortatur*: which also improves the sense. Scaevinus not only does not yield to threats but actually takes upon himself to offer advice. XVI. 16 F. rejects the reading *semel editam* (*quam non ut in cladibus exercitum aut captivitate urbium semel editam transire licet*) and prefers the difficult and harsh *semel edito* on the ground that *edere iram* is 'hardly a possible expression.' No doubt, in the sense of venting anger: but why not possible and natural if the meaning required is 'to tell the story of the divine anger'? XVI. 28 I very much prefer *ageret senatorem* (advocated by Madvig) to F.'s *agere*: the latter reading necessitates a pregnancy of meaning for *senatorem*—thus equivalent to 'a senator of the old Republican régime'—which does not seem to be justified by any other passage.

In the interest of young students it might have been well to add notes on the meaning of *conducere* (XI. 9) and *reddere* (XI. 20): on *lege agi* (XII. 60): on the grammar of *nullis extrinsecus adiumentis* (XII. 61): and on the technical sense of *evocare* (XIII. 52).

There are several misprints: I have noticed *Agrippina* (-ae) p. 219, *pracecipua* 263, *Cibryatae* 271, *Paenus* 289, *deese* 316, *quibusdum* 341, *qua* (quae) 376, *Octavium* 467, *aspiceretur* 486, *mari* (matri) 565.

A. D. GODLEY.

#### BARING-GOULD'S TRAGEDY OF THE CAESARS.

*The Tragedy of the Caesars*, by S. BARING-GOULD. 2 vols. Methuen & Co. 1892. 30s.

THIS book contains the story of the Caesars of the Julian and Claudian lines, that is

to say from Julius Caesar to Nero. Its purpose is not historical but biographical. The writer may be described as a fervent Caesarian. The great founder of the line is for him, as for Mommsen and Froude, not only a consummate statesman,

but an almost perfect man ; he 'was one of the most lovable and admirable characters of whom we have record' ; the British Museum bust shows that there was in him 'a patience, a forbearance, a charity that would be sublime even in a Christian.' Alas ! as one reads these words there rise up in judgment some words of Caesar's own ;—*Itaque omni senatu necato reliquos sub corona vendidit.* Sublime no doubt, but hardly patient or forbearing or charitable. Mr. Baring-Gould finds in the busts of Augustus that he was driven to the proscriptions by necessity, and that they caused him great distress. Mark Antony 'in spite of his round head was an idealist, and his character very attractive.' From the statue of Livia as Ceres in the Louvre (which almost certainly is not Livia) we learn that she was 'a good woman.' Tiberius was 'a man of noble aspirations, tender heart, sincere desire to do his duty.' The younger Agrippina was 'queenly, honourable, and pure in life to the end' ; this on the authority of the famous seated statue at Naples, which few now accept as Agrippina. The only black sheep left are Caligula and Nero, but they suffered from hereditary mania.

Mr. Baring-Gould argues his case for the Caesars with great acuteness and ability. No one will deny that the evidence against them comes from anything but pure sources. Tacitus is a bitter opponent. Dio has seldom a good word for anybody. Suetonius is ready to sacrifice a reputation for a scandalous story. Large deductions no doubt must be made from their statements. It is quite possible that Nero did not poison Britannicus or Burrus ; that Agrippina did not poison Claudius and that she was a pure woman—like Tess ; and it is almost certain that Tiberius had nothing to do with the death of Germanicus. But when all is said that can be said about the partiality and malignity and foul gossip of the historians, where else are we to look for true portraits of the Caesars ? Mr. Baring-Gould has his answer ready. To the portraits themselves, to the busts and gems and coins.

His book then is an attempt to re-construct the characters of the Caesars on the authority of their portraits. It is of course essential to such a method that the portraits should be authentic. He accordingly lays down in an introductory chapter certain canons by which to determine their authenticity. There is little to find fault with here. He is quite right in pointing out that the coins (which he should not call

'medals') 'do not always agree among themselves nor are they always certainly accurate in portraiture.' Before the time of Nero there is considerable variation in the coin portraits even of the *princeps* himself ; those of other members of the imperial family, when they are posthumous like those of Germanicus and the elder Drusus, are of little use for determining a likeness, for the face is generally idealized, and sometimes, I believe, made purposely like to the reigning Caesar. It is not till Flavian times that we get anything like realistic portraiture in the heads of the ladies of the imperial family.

An important feature of Mr. Baring-Gould's book are the illustrations, which are numerous—eighty-one in the first volume, and thirty-six in the second—and for their purpose, with very few exceptions, excellent. It would have been better however if in affixing names to them the query had been used more freely, for a great many people will look at the illustrations without reading the discussion of them in the text. It is of course a mere conjecture that the bust in the *Museo Chiaramonti* 512 represents Marius. It has now been shown that the inscription on the Madrid bust of Cicero does not belong to the head, which is modern ; the attribution therefore falls to the ground. The Naples bust which is given on p. 78 is certainly not Pompeius ; if Mr. Baring-Gould had looked in vol. i. of the *Römische Mittheilungen* of the German Institute he would have seen an admirable head of Pompeius which exactly corresponds to the coins. It is in the Jacobsen collection at Copenhagen. I can see little or no likeness between the bust in the Vatican attributed to M. Antonius and his head on the coins. I cannot believe that the bust of a *pontifex maximus* in the *Museo Chiaramontino* 135 represents Julius Caesar ; he can never have looked as old as that. Otherwise, as regards the portraits of Julius Caesar, I am in substantial agreement with Mr. Baring-Gould. It is unfortunate that there is so much variation between the various busts, coins and gems, that there is none which one can point to with confidence as a faithful likeness of the great statesman ; but I agree with Mr. Baring-Gould in assigning a high value to the admirable bust in the British Museum. The basalt bust at Berlin I only know from the reproduction of it in Bernoulli's book, but, judging from that, the profile corresponds pretty closely with that of the British Museum bust. The statue in the *Palazzo*

*del Conservatore* is judged by Helbig to be a work of the close of the first century, and the colossal bust at Naples is, as Mr. Baring-Gould says, characterless and idealized from other portraits, and certainly not studied from life. The fine bust, lately brought to view in the Louvre, I have never seen and I do not feel I can judge of it from the photograph. As regards the theory of several French archaeologists, which Mr. Baring-Gould adopts, that the beautiful nude statue in the Louvre, formerly called Germanicus, represents Julius Caesar, though I grant a certain likeness to one of the coin-types, it seems to be most improbable, if not impossible, that Caesar when a comparatively unknown young man should have been represented in this deified form.

The portraits of Augustus are well selected and the only one which is doubtful is in the Vatican *Sala dei Busti* no. 275. I do not believe it to be Augustus. Livia is one of the more difficult problems, as her head on the coins is no doubt considerably idealized. But taking as a starting-point the beautiful silver coin of Byzantium and the bronze coin on which she is represented as Salus Augusta, with which the gems and cameos fairly agree, the bust which represents her best is undoubtedly one in a private collection at Paris published in the *Röm. Mitt.* ii. 3 ff. pl. 1. With this the profile, given by Mr. Baring-Gould on p. 321, of a colossal statue found at Paestum and now at Madrid (quite new to me) shows close agreement. On the other hand the Ceres statue in the Louvre can hardly be Livia. The eyes, nose, upper lip, and arrangement of the hair, all differ from the foregoing type. Antonia is a still more difficult problem, the coins being of even less help than they are in the case of Livia. The porphyry bust in the Louvre (i. 142) bears no resemblance to any of them except in the arrangement of the hair. The same arrangement is shown in the Hague cameo which Mr. Baring-Gould attributes to Livia (i. 167). There is no reason to suppose that the bust in the *Museo Chiaramonti* 418, figured on p. 176, is Julia. It bears no resemblance to the two magnificent cameos in the British Museum from the Carlisle collection, which almost certainly represent her.

The portraits of Tiberius are well chosen, but the youthful bust in the Lateran (i. 226) can hardly be Tiberius. I agree with Mr. Baring-Gould that there is nothing except the absurd restoration of the nose to prevent one accepting the bust in the British Museum (i. 375) as Tiberius in old

age. We have probably an authentic representation of Germanicus in the Louvre statue from Gabii (i. 260); the face is that of a refined, amiable and weak man. The same person is undoubtedly represented in the bust at Schloss Erbach (i. 258), though Mr. Baring-Gould attributes it to the younger Drusus. Nor is the bust in the Torlonia Museum (i. 294) the younger Drusus, whose appearance is well known from coins, with which a head at Turin corresponds (Bernouilli ii. pt. 1, 201). The statue from Veii in the Lateran (i. 268) is more like him than Germanicus. There is no portrait of the elder Drusus that can be claimed as certainly authentic. The coins which bear his head were struck long after his death, and vary somewhat, but nothing can be further from them than the Pompeii statue (i. 204) or the bust in the Torlonia Museum (i. 207). It is a reasonable conjecture that the fine statue of a Claudian from Cervetri in the Lateran represents Nero the son of Germanicus. The elder Agrippina is another *cruix*. The most probable portraits of her are a bust in the *Sala degli Imperatori* no. 10, a statue at Munich which Mr. Baring-Gould attributes to the younger Agrippina (ii. 88) and a bust in the *Museo Chiaramonti* no. 263 (i. 280). Another one in the same gallery no. 369 (i. 303 and 356) is much more doubtful, and that in the Chigi Palace (i. 323) more doubtful still, if not impossible.

Though I have ventured to make these criticisms I do so with the feeling that I am much less qualified to speak on the subject than Mr. Baring-Gould; for he is a professed student of physiognomy and has been in constant and recent intercourse with the originals. On the whole there is little fault to find with the first volume as regards the illustrations, except to suggest that a more rigid method of exclusion should have been practised. It is otherwise with the second volume. Of the thirty-six illustrations which it contains, except for four out of the five portraits of Caligula and five out of the six of Claudius, there is hardly one which should have appeared. The statue in the Louvre (ii. 63) is very possibly Antonia, but, if so, the bust in the *Museo Chiaramonti* no. 701 (ii. 10) is not. Of the nine portraits described as Agrippina Minor only one, that in the Lateran from Cervetri, is at all probable, for I cannot believe that the famous statue at Naples can represent a woman who was only forty-four when she died. It may be noted here that at a recent sitting of the German Institute Herr Mau

identified as Agrippina a bust in the Naples Museum hitherto unnamed. The bust in the British Museum which bears the name of Otho (ii. 183) has not the least resemblance to the coins. The portraits of Nero which Mr. Baring-Gould gives are all unsatisfactory; judged by the coins, they are bad likenesses, if not caricatures. It is doubtful whether the bust in the British Museum (ii. 246) represents Nero at all, while that in the Uffizi (ii. 226) is probably modern.

In fact this book like many others would have been better for compression. Had there been only one volume the portraits chosen for illustration might have been sub-

jected to a closer scrutiny, and the text might have been confined more exclusively to the matter in hand, namely the discussion of the characters of the Caesars. But even as it is not only the archaeologist but the historian, unless he belongs to the class which ignores the study of individual character, may learn much from the book. Perhaps Mr. Baring-Gould's powerful imagination, which admirers of *Mehalah* know how to appreciate, occasionally runs away with him, but a biographical study of historical characters by a man of his quality cannot fail to be both interesting and instructive.

A. TILLEY.

#### STEWART'S ESSAY ON BOETHIUS.

*Boethius, an Essay*, by HUGH FRAZER STEWART, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh & London, 1891: pp. x. 279. 7s. 6d.

THIS is an enlargement of the essay which won the Hulsean Prize at Cambridge in 1888. It is in seven chapters; of which the second, fifth, and sixth have been rewritten, while the seventh is entirely new: the first, second, and fourth remain unchanged. These seven chapters treat of (1) the Controversy on Boethius; (2) Boethius and Theodoric; (3) the 'Consolation of Philosophy'; (4) the Philosophy of the *De Consolatione*; (5) the Theological Tracts; (6) some ancient Translations of Boethius's Last Work; (7) Boethius and the Scholastic Problem. And these are followed by two appendices on (A) MSS. of the Theological Tracts; (B) Passages in Chaucer which seem to have been suggested by the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. The authorities employed are stated at the head of each chapter, and there is a useful index at the end of the volume.

On the whole the volume is bright and interesting, and offers a large amount of information compressed into a moderate compass. Some such qualification as 'on the whole' is necessary: for he who writes on Boethius must treat of topics—notably the Theological Tracts—which only genius of a very high order could make bright and interesting.

The Theological Tracts are Christian throughout and discuss abstruse questions

of Christian doctrine. The *De Consolatione*, the last work of Boethius, written in prison not long before his death, is rightly held to be, not antichristian, but unchristian. Christianity is not attacked, but ignored. Mr. Stewart thinks that 'the circumstances of Boethius's life make it almost impossible to believe that he was other than a professing Christian before he fell into disgrace' (p. 104). He dissents from those who find it difficult to believe that the man who wrote the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* had previously written the Theological Tracts; and also from those who regard the *De Consolatione* as a 'notification of the writer's final withdrawal from the Christian faith.' Yet his own view is not so very different from the second of these two. He puts this imaginary soliloquy into the mouth of Boethius as a prelude to his last work:—'Of what avail, then, that earnest attempt to raise the Faith above the mire of heresy? of what avail that double stroke for old Rome and the Church? Surely it were better, now that death is so near, to put away the memory of such wasted efforts and misdirected energy, and return to the consolation of her who has never failed me, whose methods I was wrong to apply to questions both dangerous to attempt and profitless when mastered. Come then, Philosophy, be once more my guide and my teacher! Show me once again how man in his miserable strivings after partial happiness misses the whole, the only Good' (p. 159). A man who has come to the conclusion that Christian doctrines are profitless even when

mastered, and that philosophy has never failed him and must again become his teacher and guide, is not far off a withdrawal from the Christian faith.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the volume is the sixth, on the translators of the *De Consolatione*. And the most interesting section in this chapter, at any rate for the ordinary English reader, is that on King Alfred's famous translation. 'It is in his translation of Boethius that Alfred's personality is most strongly stamped. The theme was a congenial one. He too had had some taste of changing fortune in his own life; he too had felt the shock of a fall from high estate; and though he had now won his way to his throne again, and could look calmly back at the dangers and vicissitudes he had come through, he would not for that reason feel the less sympathy with the Roman patriot whose only crime—no crime indeed in Alfred's eyes—was that he had lent an ear to the prayers of those who would fain be delivered from the yoke of a barbarian tyrant. This very sympathy...led him to identify himself so entirely with Boethius, that the latter is often quite lost sight of, the king taking his place and giving utterance to sentiments of which the Roman never dreamt' (p. 173). Other translations or adaptations of the *De Consolatione* which the author notices are the Provençal poem

*Boëce* in the eleventh century; that by Notker of St. Gall, which perhaps is a little earlier; the *Roman de Fortune* of Simun de Fraisne in the thirteenth century—the earliest vernacular version after that of Alfred; those by Jehan de Meun, Pierre de Paris, Renaud de Louhans, and other writers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and lastly Chaucer, whose acquaintance with the Roman philosopher seems to have begun about 1369 and to have gone on until he 'must have known his Boethius almost by heart' (p. 215). Chaucer attempts what Alfred made no pretence at attempting, a literal translation and not a mere paraphrase: and it has a special value as an example of fourteenth century prose. Mr. Stewart has tabulated a number of mistranslations, and points out that (as we might expect) Chaucer is much better in the bits of Boethius which he has done into verse in his poems than in the same pieces as they appear in the set prose translation.

It would perhaps be worth the author's while, in preparing a second edition, to look at articles bearing on his subject in the *Grande Encyclopédie* now being published by Lamirault, Paris, and of which about half has been issued. Great attention appears to have been paid to the bibliography.

A. PLUMMER.

#### DORIC DIALECTS.

*Les Dialectes Doriens, Phonétique et Morphologie.* Thèse d'Agrégation présentée à la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Bruxelles, par ÉMILE BOISACQ, Docteur en Philosophie et Lettres. Paris, Ernest Thorin, 1891. 220 pages.

*Der Dialekt Megaras, und der Megarischen Colonien von FRIEDRICH KÖPPNER.*—Besondere Abdruck aus dem achtzehnten Supplementbande der 'Jahrbücher für classische Philologie.' Leipzig, Teubner, 1891. Pp. 530—563. 1 Mk.

It is a time of dialect study. Meister is proceeding with deliberateness; eight years elapsed between his first and second volumes. Hoffmann has given us lately a volume on Arcado-Cyprian, which he calls South-Achaean (cf. *Class. Rev.* Jan. 1892, p. 54).

Shortly after the publication of Hoffmann's volume Boisacq published his treatment of the Dorian group. This book we judge to be his doctor's dissertation. Whatever may be the ultimate position assigned to the volume, it will prove a handy summary pending the publications of Meister and of Hoffmann. Considerations of convenience the author seems to have had in mind, for he has cited Cauer's *Delectus* wherever possible. To the private student of dialects the book can be recommended on this account.

No such feature of practical utility attaches to the little monograph of Köppner.

Every writer on a group of dialects must of course adopt some principle of grouping. Boisacq gives us by way of introduction a sketch of the various groupings that have prevailed. Since the first edition of Gustav

Meyer's *Greek Grammar* it has been rather the fashion to subdivide as minutely as possible and not recombine in groups. Meister represents the same tendency, Hoffmann seems to be returning to the older group-system. Boisacq is diplomatic but perhaps betrays a leaning to Hoffmann, as elsewhere in the volume. I like however the point of view indicated by the following sentence: 'L'éolisme de jadis est, pensons-nous, définitivement condamné et les dialectes vulgaires autrefois englobés sous cette rubrique apparaissent aujourd'hui comme des formes intermédiaires entre le dorisme et le lesbien.' The transition dialects will never admit of strict classification we believe. The members of our author's Doric group are as follows: *A.* Laconia, *B.* Tarentum and Heraclea, *C.* Messenia, *D.* Argolis, *E.* Corinth, Cleonae, Sicyon, Phlius, Coreyra, Syracuse, etc., *F.* Megara, Chalcedon, Byzantium etc., *G.* Crete, *H.* Melos, Thera and Cyrene, *I.* Other islands in the Aegean, *K.* Rhodes, Gela, Agrigentum. The literary texts of Doric are Alcman, Pindar, Theognis (of no great importance), Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, Archimedes. Doric passages in non-Doric writings are Thuc. v. 77, 79, Arist. *Acharnae* vs. 729 ff., *Lysistrata* vs. 81—240, 980—1013, 1076—1318. Hesychius and the Grammarians furnish isolated words.

The phonology of the Doric group is next treated. I turn to the discussion of the peculiar uses of *a*, *o*, *ε*, in Doric:—

1. *a* = Ion.-Att. *ε* in (a) *\*Αρταμίς*; *ἰαρός*; *στράφω*, *τράπω*, *τράφω*, *τράχω*, *τάμνω*; *Ἀπτάρα*, *Πάναρος*, *σκιαρός*, *χαράδος*, *μάντοι*. (b) *κά* (*κέν*), *γά*, *θά* (*θέν*), pres. ptc. dats. in *ἀστη*, *φραστή* (*φρεν-*). (c) *ἄπόνατ-* (*πονάν* Dor. for *πονέω*), *ἄερον* (Hom. *έροη*), *ἄψια* (= *ἐόρται*, Hes.) *ἄτερος*, *ἴνασι* *πιάζω*.

2. *ε* = Ion.-Att. *o* in (a) *\*Απέλλων*, *γεργύρα*, *ἔβδεμήκοντα*, *όδελός* (*όβολός*), *Ιππεάδαμον*.

3. *ε* = Ion.-Att. *a* in (a) *ἔρονες*, *ἴλεος*.

4. *o* = Ion.-Att. *a* in (a) *τέτορες*, *ἀνεπιγρόφως*. (b) *κοθαρός* (*καβαρός*).

5. *a* = Ion.-Att. *o* in (a) *ἄναρ* (*οναρ*), *ἄν* *α τηρον* (*δην ει τηρον*), *σαλία* (*θολία*). (b) *ξίκατι* (*είκοσι*), numerals in *κάτιοι* (*κόντιοι*), *πλέασι* (*πλέοσι*). (c) *ἄστακος*, *σκιφατόμος*, *πεδιανόμος*, *ιατοριαγράφον*.

For many of the above words our author does not attempt an explanation. We are not told for example that *ἰαρός* is the historically continuous form, although Sk. *isirā-* is brought forward, and *ἱερός* the new form, made (as Brugmann suggests I. § 287) on the analogy of the *\*pos* adjectives of *o/ε* stems, e.g. *διερός*, *φοιβερός*. In-

deed what our author says, p. 33, seems to make the *ἱερός* form the continuous one: 'Aux formes pleines et primitivement accentuées *-έμο*, *-έπο* de l'ionisme et de l'arcado-cypriote répondent en dorien les suffixes non accentués *-αμο*, *-απο*'.

The classification I have above made groups under (a) all the cases of variation between *a*, *ε*, and *o*, in connection with the nasals and liquids, and these form a large majority of all. Can we not explain the phenomenon in group (a) as one of gradation? The inference would be fair if not cogent. Accent is however the disturbing cause in gradation, and there seems to be no right to assume a change of accent in *ἰαρός* as compared with Sk. *isirā-*. A soberer explanation for many of the above words has been reached by Joh. Schmidt in the current number of *K.Z.* (xxii. p. 323 ff.). Neighbouring vowels have an assimilating effect upon one another, e.g. *\*Απέλλων* gave way to *\*Απόλλων* because of the following *ω*; in the same way *όδελός* is more original than *όβολός*; *Κέρκυρα* has had its *ε* labialized by the *v* of the following syllable; *ἔτερος* out of *ἄτερος* is due to the penultimate *ε*, not, as heretofore explained, to re-association with *εις*. For words etymologically insecure however we may still hold that such variants are a phenomenon of gradation, and due to accent. Accent is the comparative grammarian's principle of gravitation and doubtless lies behind many a yet unexplained change, as surely as the attraction of the planet Uranus on the planet Neptune led to the discovery of the latter. There may be those who will think I am comparing great things with small, and such will attach no importance to the priority of *ἰαρός* as against *ἱερός*. The Greek mathematicians were content to work out their conics a thousand years before there was practical application for the results. We can be humble and imitate them, feeling sure that our instrument of precision will at last bring something out of the darkness of the pre-historic time.

Under (b) I have classed cases of *a=n*. This group Boisacq has explained save *κά* (*κέν*); he denies the relation of *θα* to *θέν*, but cf. Henry's *Comp. Gr.* § 187, 6: *γά* has perhaps been affected by *κά* (?)!

Under (c) I have tabulated miscellaneous cases. *νιάσι* has been hesitatingly explained by Boisacq (p. 38) as analogical to *πατράσι* etc. I see no reason for the hesitation. *ἄεροι*, Hom. *έροη*, has a prothetic vowel, and is for the present out of the reach of investigation perhaps. In *ἄπόνατ-* we are sup-

posed to have *a* in place of the augment *e*. The same thing occurs a few other times on inscriptions but, so far as I know, only with forms of the verb *πονέω*. I call attention to the fact that in these cases the verb begins with *ἀπο*<sup>o</sup> instead of *ἐπο*<sup>o</sup>. The occurrence is only sporadic. Perhaps it was 'stonecutters' etymology' due to the preposition *ἀπο*<sup>o</sup>. For ἀψιαρί *ἐστρατί* I have no explanation to suggest. *σκιφαρόμος* (=ξιφορόμος?) is cited from an inscription inaccessible to me. If the *a* is metrically long there are two possibilities of explanation. We can regard *σκιφα*<sup>o</sup> as a case form, an instrumental, either hyperdoric for *η* (cf. Br. *Gr.* II. p. 627), or the result of the contraction of the stem *-o+a*, a mode of formation imitating that of instrumentals from consonant stems. For *πεδιανόμος*, 'cultivating the fields,' and *ἰστοριαγράφων* we are certainly not far wrong in assuming a conscious pluralizing of *πεδίον* in the first case, and re-association with *ἰστορία* in the second. *πεντηκονταστατήρων* for *πεντηκοντό*<sup>o</sup> is susceptible of a similar explanation. *σκιερός* cited under 1 (a) for *σκιερός* shows re-association with *σκιά*, unless indeed *σκιερός* is analogical like *ἱερός*, which seems to me the more probable explanation. In Doric *πιάζω* for *πιέζω* the influence of *βιάζω*, similar in sound and meaning, is to be seen: *πιέζω* is, without doubt, a compound of *ἐπι*+*σι* 'sit upon.' = Sk. *✓piid* < *pi-sd*. The primary meaning is 'press' for both words, the derived 'oppress.' Cf. Lat. *po-situs* <*a**po-situs* for a similarly clipped preposition—all of which has long ago been shown by Pott. *Etym. Forsch.* I.<sup>2</sup> p. 514.

On p. 77 Boisacq discusses the locatives in *vī*, e.g. Cret. *᷄τνī*. The explanation of *vī* as the regular phonetic resultant of *oi* he very properly rejects, that is to say he adopts Hoffmann's objections to this theory as against Meyer. The explanation of Hoffmann is however adopted, itself cumbersome and not capable of proof. The bulk of the examples are on pronominal stems. Cret. *᷄τνī* is on the stem of the interrogation *I.-E. qo*. This was perhaps *qvo* (kvō *t*) with weak forms in *qu-* (*kw* *t*), Sk. *ku*- in *kú-tra* and in *ku-à* (*kuva*) are warrants for the latter stage. The suffix *i* is that of the locative, but it is probable that suffixless locatives were also in existence, Gr. *πῦ*, *\*᷄τνī*. The forms in *°vī* stand in the same relation to these suffixless locatives as the Delphic dative-locative plur. in *-oīs*, e.g. *ποῖς*, *οῖσ κα* (Ahr. II. 367) to the locative sing. in *°oī*, e.g. *οῖκοι*.

The above explanation, original with myself, has alas! been anticipated by Joh.

Schmidt in the current number of *K.Z.* (xxxii. p. 294 fg.). To the explanation of *vī* as the ordinary locative suffix he prefers to equate *\*πνī* with Sk. *ku-víd*, but I do not feel that his reasons are convincing. I further see no semasiological connection between *ku-víd* 'whether' and *᷄τνī* as adverb of the place to which. It is to be noted that the transfer to nominal stems (e.g. *ἀμάρντη*, *πλάνη*) would be facilitated for Greek by the stem *v-iú-s* beside *v-ió-s*.

Our author's discussion of the Greek nouns in *-eūs* is not clear. On p. 149 he cites both Meyer's and Hoffmann's explanations of the doublets in *-ῆs*, *-eūs*, with a possible leaning to the latter. We quite agree with Meyer (§ 323). On p. 152 Brugmann's correction of Wackernagel's equation of *ἰππεύs* = Sk. *aqvayu-s* is given. Wackernagel in *K.Z.* xxiv. p. 295 fg. explains gen. *ἰππεύos* from *ἰππεεfos* > *\*ἰππεεfos*. This should give us *\*ἰππεεfos* (cf. *τρεῖs* < *\*τρεεs*). Brugmann therefore proceeds from a locative *\*ἰππεηy*, 're-locativized' into *\*ἰππεηf-i* > *ἰππῆf-i*. A still simpler explanation of the forms seems to me possible. A proto-hellenic form like *\*βασιλεεfos* was affected by the Greek accentual principle known as De Saussure's 'loi rythmique,' whereby e.g. *σοφώτερος* came to stand for *\*σοφότερος* to avoid the accumulation of short syllables. We may start then from a *\*βασιλεεfos*, *\*τοκῆfos*, etc., where *ē* stands for a rhythmically lengthened *e*. A contraction of *ē+ē* would give us our *η*— *\*τοκῆs* whence *τοκέus*.

A variation between *-eās*, *-eīas* and *-iās* in proper names exists in the Doric dialects (Bois. p. 53) and this variation seems not to have been explained. The relation of *-eās* to *-iās* is easy cf. *σιόs*, *θέōs* etc. For *-eās* and *-eīas* I offer the following solutions. A name *·Kratēas* e.g. probably contains the stem *kratēs*. The existence of forms *Kratēas* and *Kratēas* may therefore be on the same footing as *τελεīō*: *τελεō* and we must look for a suffix with initial *y* (*t*) and a meaning like 'possessing power,' 'desiring thee' is generally explained as a denominative participle; it has a doublet *tvāyū-*; it is possibly to be regarded as on the same level with *iyant-* *kiyat-* 'quantus?' may be regarded as showing a 'possessive suffix' -yant (cf. -vant and -mant): *tvāyānt-* 'desiring thee' is generally explained as a denominative participle; it has a doublet *tvāyū-*; it is possibly to be regarded as on the same level with *iyant-* *kiyat-* with secondary accent. All denominative stems do not accent the suffix, cf. Whitney<sup>2</sup> § 1067. If we assume then a Gr. *\*kratēsīt-* we reach a nominative *\*kratēsīas*. For the doublet

tvāyānt-: tvāyu-, we have the significant Greek doublet Ἀριστεύς and Ἀριστέ(ι)ας. We may however reach the explanation by comparing the proper names in -iāw, e.g. Δευκαλίων (< Δευκαλίων!) Απόλλων (< Απόλλων!) with doublet Απελλίας. A weak grade of the suffix -jen- is in (cf. Brug. II. p. 335 fg.) and so we can reach a nominative (vocative!) \*Κρατερογά-ς 'son of might' (cf. Κρατιον). In either case the > ā of the nominative was analogized by the prevalent first declension type. The name Ἐρμείας however suggests still another explanation. This has been compared with great probability to Sārameyā-; we must reconstruct I.-E. \*Sermēiia-; Sk. has anaptyxis of a before m and secondary vrddhi. In Ἐρμείας the diphthong ε̄ resolves itself into ey, and this secondary y receives the same treatment as its predecessor whence Ἐρμέας. Whatever explanation is accepted, the conservative tendency in proper names must be taken into account. Names in -eias and -eas may be considered the antique parallel of our modern Johnston : Johnson.

'Ιππεδάμον (p. 52) (nom. 'Ιππέδαμος ?) δαμιερ-  
γοῦ δαμιοργοί (p. 64) and θέδωρος θεμάστον  
(p. 54) are compounds mentioned by our  
author. For the latter he cites explanations  
of Baunack and Meyer, all I think unsatisfactory.  
'Ιππεδάμον is given under the  
general rubric ε=Ion.-Att. o. For δαμιορ-  
γός explanations of Meister and Hoffmann  
are given. These are only formally different,  
though Hoffmann clings to <sup>ο</sup>φόργος instead of <sup>ο</sup>φέργος as the second part of the  
compound, and elides o of his δαμο<sup>ο</sup> whereas  
Meister elides ε of his φέργος. The true ex-  
planation of all these compounds lies in an  
insistence upon accentual effects. Greek  
'Ιππέδαμος is a bāhvurīhi compound with  
accent on the first member but shifted in  
accordance with the Greek law of enclisis.  
'Ιππόδαμος is a relic of the tatpurusa with  
accent on the final member, and the more  
frequent stem form iππo- prevailed. θέω-  
ρος, bāhvurīhi, proceeds from a, \*θε(-)δώρος,  
tatpurusa, where the first member shows its  
suffix in the weakest grade, that is to say (-).  
Δαμ(ι)-οργός comes from \*δαμι(-)φόργος in the  
same way. Δαμιεργός is proof perhaps of  
the grade \*δαμιέργος. The compound seems  
to be tatpurusa. Homer's δημοιεργός thanks  
a bāhvurīhi for its structure. The stem θεο-  
shows gradation perhaps in the form σίν=σίν  
θεόν, cf. Lat. Cornelius to the stem Corne-  
lio(?).

I find some blemishes in Boisacq's linguistic statements. After freely using the phrase 'allongement compensateur' (p. 57)

he seems to dodge the expression on p. 65 with his phrase : ‘*ω résultant de la réduction en simples de consonnes nées d’une assimilation*’ cf. Meyer § 74. Compare however p. 67 where ‘*par allongement compensateur*’ is discussed. The cases are equally ones of ‘compensative lengthening.’ I cannot help thinking he has been misled by Meyer who makes a sub-class under ‘compensative lengthening’ of what Boisacq has treated separately. Köppner on p. 543 cites *προδε-δηλωμέναν* as an instance of ‘compensative lengthening.’ I should like to know why.

In discussing the explanations of δαιμονίος cited above, Boisacq writes: 'Hoffmann Gr. Dial. I. p. 151 critique cette étymologie et propose etc.' Again on p. 68: 'Si l'on compare p. 64 s. l'étymologie de δαιμονίος indiquée par Hoffmann etc.' The difference between Meister and Hoffmann is morphological and not etymological, I should say.

On p. 47, à propos of the Doric Προμάθεύς we read : 'la relation établie par Kuhn entre Προμάθεύς et le sanscr. pra-manthas. R. Math : manth, manthati "faire tourner un morceau de bois dans un autre (pour allumer le feu sacré)" est revoquée en doute.' But why? If Sk. √math represents I.-E. √math we have in Προμάθεύς the deflected grade of the ā/ā series. If Sk. math = I.-E. māth we can explain as \*Προμᾶθεύς, and ḥ = Gr. ā Ion.-Att. η : cf. ἔβατε, Ion.-Att. ἔβητε < \*ἔβητε.

A thoroughgoing inconsistency of writing the vocalic nasals exists in Boisacq. p. 36 we have ἔταμον (= ἔτρων), p. 68 βωθῆς. On p. 161 I note \*πρασσοτ-σι but \*φρω-σι. On the same page Cretic πλαισι is explained from πλιν-σι, which could never be. The proto-hellenic form must have been \*πλειν-σι > \*πλειαστ-σι > \*πλεαστ-σι; in Ion.-Att. the influence of Hom. πλεόνεσσι or of the stem πλεον- gave πλέοντι, in Cretic \*πλέαστι became πλάστι as Feria Feria etc.

On p. 97 we have  $\dot{\epsilon}\varsigma = \dot{\epsilon}\kappa$ ; on p. 98 ‘ $\sigma = \xi$ ’ dans Ζενοφίλου et Δεστίω = Δεξιώ.’ The first statement should read  $\dot{\epsilon}\varsigma = \dot{\epsilon}\xi$ , cf. Baunack, *Gort.* p. 23.

The student ought to have a clue to *ἀπτασίν* (p. 103), a derivative of *ἀφαίνω*, and *ποσπιθώσαι* is entitled to its usual sequence ('= *ψυχιζοντι*) as on p. 160.

On p. 91 ὄρνιξ = ὄρνις is cited and the ξ attributed to the influence of the oblique cases ὄρνιχσσν etc. (Pindar, Alcman and Theocritus). The existence of a stem ὄρνιχ beside ὄρνιθ- hints at an original -gh- as final. It is possible to regard ὄρνιξ as affected by the other bird-names in -ξ (cf. Bloomfield, *Am. Jr. Phil.* xii. p. 17). In the oblique cases we may regard -χ- as being affected

with aspiration by way of legacy from the original -θ.

I have noted a good many misprints: p. 38 varṣā- for varṣā; p. 49 πολάχος for πολάχος, but perhaps purposely according to § 5, 5 (p. 31), in the index p. 219 πολάχος; p. 58 Del. 12, 7, 2 should be 12, 19 and *ibid.* 5, 2 *ibid.* 26; p. 83 Meyer § 116 should be § 166; p. 82 ἀναγραφόντεν for ἀνγραφόντεν; p. 88 τόπα for τόκα; p. 99 the gloss to στοκόρος: νευκόρος is an evident misprint for θεος (o!) ; p. 104 στατήρης but στατῆρας(!); p. 175 the reference in the footnote, Brugmann *Griech. Gramm.*<sup>2</sup> p. 327, should read 135; p. 187 ἐπιορκόντι for ἐπιορκόντι; p. 193 sūnjā- is a peculiar transcription for Sk. čunyá.

A characteristic of the author's treatment is the following from p. 94. 'Depuis le IV<sup>e</sup> siècle on trouve dans toutes les parties du dorisme, de même qu'en attique, en bœtien etc., les formes οὐδείς οὐθέν μηθείς μηθέν (le féminin restant οὐδεμία μηδεμία); nous n'insistons pas.' Cf. Meyer § 212. We need look to Boisacq for no new explanations, and scarcely for any preference between contending ones, for we fancy the partiality shown to Hoffmann comes from his being the last writer on the subject. We must not demand too much however from a *thèse d'agrégation*.

Köppner gives us nothing by way of explanation. His little book amounts to a

tabulation of Megaric words and to nothing more. I like his exhibition of common sense where he speaks on p. 561 of Aristophanes as a writer of *pure* Megaric.

On p. 543 he speaks of η < a 'in einzelnen verbis und anderen mit deren stamm gebildeten Wörtern, e.g. χρήματα, ζύκτησιν.' Meyer's explanation § 38 ought to have been kept in mind.

On p. 544, 2, he deals with words that show a variation between ει and ι. His final sentence is as follows. 'Mit Ausnahme des ει in θλείβω erklärt es Meyer (*Gr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> § 115) in allen aufgezählten Beispielen für älter und richtiger.' Some of the examples are νευκον and νικον! But see Meyer, whom Köppner has not correctly reported.

I prefer the reasoned method of dealing with the Greek dialects, and for the present the comparative grammarians seem to furnish us with more reasons. A crying need of dialect students is an index verborum of all the material the inscriptions furnish us. Meantime let us hope for a new edition of Gustav Meyer's *Griechische Grammatik*. Cauer's *Delectus* and Meyer's *Grammar* make a very convenient and perhaps the very best means of working at the dialects for new venturers in the field.

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#### HARNACK ON EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur*, von OSCAR VON GEBHARDT und ADOLF HARNACK. VII. Band. Heft. 2. 'Ueber das Gnostische Buch Pistis-Sophia.' 'Brot und Wasser: Die Eucharistischen Elemente bei Justin.' Zwei Untersuchungen, von ADOLF HARNACK. (Pp. 144. Leipzig, 1891.) Mk. 4.50.

THE number of the *Texte und Untersuchungen* before us contains two treatises by Prof. Harnack, both eminently characteristic of their author.

The first is an investigation into the well known Gnostic treatise Pistis-Sophia preserved in Coptic in a MS. in the British Museum, and is an excellent piece of work. The doctrine or philosophy of the work has already been adequately discussed, but none

but the vaguest ideas have existed previously on its date, and on the sect to which we are indebted for producing it. Prof. Harnack begins by discussing its quotations from the New, then its relations to the Old Testament, and especially the five Apocryphal Psalms of Solomon which it contains. He points out the light which it throws on the characteristics of the Christian Community at the time when it was written. It is significant as showing the importance of the questions which were then rife as to penitence and the forgiveness of sins. Finally he fixes its date to the second half of the third century. It was written in Egypt, but emanated from a school of Syrian Gnostics whom Epiphanius (*Haer.* 39, 40) mentions as settled there. The method of historical investigation seems to us on the whole admirable, and the results, as far as we can judge, correct. It and the

dissertations of Schmidt on the Oxford papyrus which Amelineau has edited (see Schmidt, *De Codice Bruciano*, Lipsiae 1892, and *Götengische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1892, March 15, p. 201) have enabled us to obtain a clear view of these somewhat abnormal products of Greek literature. To the classical student their interest is that they show the depths of irrationality to which the Greek language could descend, and present to us the opponents against whom Plotinus wrote his chapter *περὶ γνωστικῶν*.

The second dissertation contained in this work is equally characteristic of the author and as unsatisfactory as the first is satisfactory. It has already been the object of an attack by Zahn (which we have not seen), to which Harnack has replied in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1892, Nov. 15, p. 373). The subject is one which does not concern the *Classical Review*, and we should naturally pay only slight attention to it, but the method pursued is one so fatal to a scientific study of the past, in whatever class of documents it be adopted, and one which is necessarily so arbitrary in its application that we cannot entirely pass it over.

The object of the treatise is to prove:

(1) That the custom of celebrating the Eucharist with water instead of wine was not, as has generally been supposed, an irregular or heretical custom in the early church, but one widely prevalent and capable of claiming a considerable amount of authority on its side;

(2) That especially it had the support of Justin Martyr;

(3) That it is supported by the fact that the undefined word *ποτίριον* is so habitually used—a word, it is alleged, which shows the indifference of the church to the material employed. The treatise ends with some theological conclusions.

On the first and third points we need not dwell. The third argument proves nothing, and the evidence collected under the first heading does not in my opinion suggest any reason for altering the conclusions which have been previously held. The novel part of the book is the manner in which the testimony of Justin is treated.

The chapters of the first *Apology* which refer to the Christian services are well known, and the statements concerning the Eucharist are to all appearance quite unequivocal. In Chap. 65 we read *ἐπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῷ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἄρτος καὶ ποτίριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος*: again, later in the same chapter, *οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδόσσου ἔκαστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ*

*ὕδατος καὶ τοῖς οὖν παροῦσιν ἀποφέρονται*, and again chap. 67 *ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ*.

These statements might seem to be sufficiently explicit, but Prof. Harnack's method overcomes such difficulties with ease: he proposes to omit the words *κράματος* and *οἶνος* wherever they occur.

What are the arguments by which he supports these somewhat violent proceedings? There is no MS. support at all for any alteration in the two latter cases; in regard to the first there is some authority. The words *καὶ κράματος* are omitted by the MS. called C by Otto, and the expression *ὕδατος καὶ κράματος* has been felt to be difficult by various editors. This latter difficulty is more apparent than real, the modern Greek *κρασί* is used for wine without any idea of mixture. With regard to the MS. C, this is only an extract written in the fifteenth century containing chaps. 65-67, and is stated by Otto to be 'mendis scripturæ scatens.' An examination of the other variants of the extract show that all (with the exception of the correction of an itacism) are merely blunders made in copying a MS. which if it was not A was very like A.

Another argument alleged is that elsewhere in the text of the existing MS. a similar change has been made and has already been corrected by the editors. There are two parallel passages—one in the *Apology* (Chap. 54), one in the *Dialogue* (Chap. 69). In both the change involved was *ὅντος* into *οἶνος*. The passage deals with the analogy between the Bacchic and the Christian mysteries. The MSS. say that this lay in the employment of wine in both: Otto guided by some hints in the context thinks the resemblance depends on the occurrence of an ass in both. Whether Otto be right or not we hardly think that a change involving one letter, and so obvious that we imagine if *ὅντος* had occurred in the MSS. editors would have corrected it, will justify the statement that the text has been corrected in favour of catholic usage.

The corroborative evidence Prof. Harnack lays stress on is this. Certain bishops in Africa at the time of Cyprian were in the habit of celebrating with water, and the custom had prevailed for some time. The reason for its growth is expressly mentioned. Christians were detected in times of persecution by the fact that in the morning their breath smelt of wine. Prof. Harnack argues that because the custom had prevailed some time therefore it must have been traditional. The traditions of the

African Church were derived from Rome, therefore it was from Rome that the custom came. The only place where it can be found at Rome is in the writings of Justin. Surely the number of somewhat arbitrary assumptions made deprives this argument of its force.

We have however evidence on the other side:—

1. A few years after Justin's time, Abercius Bishop of Hieropolis visited Rome. He studied the customs which prevailed there and in other churches, and everywhere he says the mixed cup was used  
 $\text{o}\nu\text{νο}\text{ν} \chi\rho\gamma\sigma\tau\text{ό}\nu \text{χ}\xi\text{ο}\nu\text{σα} \kappa\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\text{α} \delta\text{i}\delta\text{o}\delta\text{σα} \mu\text{ε}\tau' \text{ἀ}\text{ρ}\text{τ}\text{o}\text{v}$ .

2. But the evidence we have concerning Justin's opinion is stronger. Amongst his pupils at Rome was Tatian, condemned perhaps somewhat unjustly as an heretic. The points in which he differed from the church were not important, yet Irenaeus does not hesitate to accuse him of blasphemy. Now Irenaeus was not only well acquainted with Justin's writings, but had probably been at Rome during his lifetime. He never hints at his books bearing an heretical char-

acter, there is no doubt of his own opinion on the point. His condemnation of Tatian shows that he was prepared to condemn when necessary, and this question concerning the Eucharist he previously condemns elsewhere (Iren. v. 1, 3). Are we to suppose that Irenaeus was indifferent to Justin's heterodoxy, or that Justin's *Apology* had already been interpolated, or that Irenaeus deliberately concealed Justin's erroneous views?

Prof. Harnack says that a study of Justin's text has convinced him that it has been largely interpolated in the interests of orthodoxy. If he could support his views by a wider generalisation it would have been more scientific if he had begun in that manner. Until he succeeds in doing so we must enter our protest against a method of textual criticism which would make the scientific study of history impossible. If we are able on such slight grounds to alter our documents to suit our theories, it is possible to arrive at any conclusion on any subject, and the study of ancient history would be a futile and useless pursuit.

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM.

#### DE VRIES'S *ETHOPOIA IN LYSIAS*.

*Ethopoiia. A Rhetorical Study of the Types of Character in the Orations of Lysias.*  
 By WILLIAM LEVERING DE VRIES. [Johns Hopkins Doctor-Dissertation.] Baltimore, 1892. Pp. 48.

In a brief introduction the writer defines  $\eta\thetao\piou\text{a}$  as contrasted with or related to  $\tau\rho\sigma\omega\piou\text{a}$ ,  $\epsilon\iota\delta\omega\lambda\piou\text{a}$ ,  $\tau\text{o} \pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\text{o}\nu$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\acute{\nu}\rho\gamma\mu\text{e}\alpha$ , discusses  $\eta\thetaos$  in its literary applications, and remarks upon the practical value of  $\eta\thetao\piou\text{a}$  in oratory. Dionysius Halic. (*De Lys. iud.* 7 ff.) is quoted, and Francken's interpretation disproved. The characters of Lysias are grouped according to their types, and the effort is made to show how their traits appear in the thought, language, and synthesis of the speeches, as indicated by Dionysius. The genuine forensic orations alone are included in the enquiry: of these Or. 13, 14, 15 are omitted, Or. 1, 16, 24 are

exhaustively studied, and less completely Or. 3, 4, 7, 10, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 25, 26, 31, 32. The treatment of  $\eta\thetaos$ , coupled with other phenomena, proves the spuriousness of Or. 8, 9, 20, and the absence of  $\eta\thetaos$  throws doubt on Or. 14, 15. The types are 'the patriotic man,' 'the simple man,' 'the clever man,' 'the man of low birth,' 'the immoral man,' 'the young man,' and 'the women of Lysias.' The writer observes that the types of character in Comedy can be used only for contrast, not for comparison with those in the Orators, where men's nobler traits and not their failings are intended to be portrayed. He might have remarked that we cannot use Theophrastus's characters, for the reason that they were modelled not on life, but on the stage characters of Menander and other poets of the New Comedy.

J. H. WRIGHT.

## CAGNAT ON THE MILITARY OCCUPATION OF AFRICA UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS.

*L'Armée romaine d'Afrique et l'occupation militaire de l'Afrique sous les empereurs*, par M. RENÉ CAGNAT, professeur au collège de France (Paris : Imprimerie Nationale, E. Leroux). MDCCXCII. Pp. xxiv. + 812. 4. 40 frs.

THIS is a great work, exemplifying alike in its exterior shape and in its contents the two best features of modern French scholarship. The size, the beauty of its print, the number and choiceness of its plans and illustrations testify that the French government and the French press have in no sense lost or neglected the French tradition of clothing important works in stately dress. The accuracy, ability, and erudition which appear on every page in the book, are no less worthy of the school of scholar-archaeologists which has lately grown up in France and of which M. Cagnat is one of the most distinguished members. That school has not limited itself to the exploration of Greece and the Greek lands: French scholars have indeed done work of the first importance in the East, but they have not neglected the West. They have been active in every place which is French or subject to France, Allmer at Lyons, Julian at Bordeaux, Robert on the Moselle, Tissot and Renier and more in Tunis and Algiers, and all their work is characterized by magnificence in outward form and ever-increasing scholarliness in execution. Among the literature which is thus arising, the book before me claims a place in the very first rank.

The contents of the volume are divided into four 'Books' of very unequal lengths. The first (pp. 1—96) is a historical survey of the wars waged in Africa under the Empire, the frontier difficulties with a Tacfarinas or a Firmus, the insurrection under Gordian, the rising in Valerian's reign, here (perhaps a little boldly) connected with Christian discontent, the Imperial troubles early in the fourth century, and so on. It is a perpetual series of small wars, little to the credit of the Roman administration but thoroughly characteristic of its methods. As in Britain, as perhaps in Dalmatia, interior oases of barbarians preserved the tradition and the habits of liberty and succeeded in ignoring the central government as completely as any Huzul of Franzos.

In the second Book, four hundred pages long, we come to the most important part

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of this important work. Here is described the army which garrisoned Africa, Numidia and Mauretania—an army, M. Cagnat observes, which is smaller than that now employed by the French to preserve order in Algiers and Tunis alone. The account of this army is both an army-list and a model sketch of what a Roman army was. The proconsul, the *legati*, the *procurator*, legionary tribunes, centurions, and lesser officers of all sorts, are in turn fully described, and in such a way that any one who desires to study the Roman army will here find almost all the details he wants. Even recruiting, arrangements for clothing, arms, pay, remount of cavalry (this last a trifling conjectural) are in turn discussed, and the book becomes as hard to review as a dictionary. Throughout, the points are naturally discussed with especial reference to African affairs, and thus questions occasionally do not occur which might find a place in a theoretical treatise. But, speaking generally, the sketch is complete, and it has the advantage of representing a Roman army in actual shape. If there is any criticism to make on this excellent account, it would take the form of urging the claims of the *solvitur ambulando* answer. When a difficulty arises from our ignorance of the way in which a certain need was met, there are always two possible explanations. We may assume that the Romans had a definite policy, or that they had not. It is not improbable that the latter is at times the truer view: the need was met as best it could be, *solvabant ambulando*. But the sketch has another side. It is a complete army-list of the legion garrisoning Africa, the *III. Augusta*, the auxiliaries which aided in keeping peace, the hypothetical legion raised by Clodius Macer, the strictly 'irregular troops' (this last a rather disappointing section), and the fleet with its harbour at Cherchel, illustrated by two beautiful plans. Not only are the names of the regiments given in true army-list style, the known officers are also recorded, and the discussion of the inscriptions used for this list gives room for many acute and valuable notes on points of details.

In the third Book, we have equally interesting matter occupying about two hundred pages. The subject is the territorial occupation of Africa, and the details discussed are the fortresses and frontiers

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and the *limes*. It is this section which will probably attract most attention at the present moment. It would not be incorrect, I hope, to say that there has lately been a 'boom' in frontiers, originating no doubt in the eager desire for frontier fortifications manifested to-day in Europe, Asia and Africa, but resulting, in any case, in good archaeological fruit. The German government has appointed its *Reichs-limes-commission* for five years and the Commission (as I write) has got to the point of issuing its second 'Limesblatt'; the Austrians, with private subscriptions, are digging up the frontier Danube fortress of Carnuntum; Prof. Domaszewski is unravelling the little known lines along the Alt; Mr. Hogarth has brought the Euphrates question prominently forward; and even in England the construction and object of the two northern lines from Glasgow to Edinburgh and Carlisle to Newcastle, have been and are likely to be the subjects of discussion, excavation, and organized research. Mr. Cagnat gives us, first, a full account, with beautiful plans and photographs, of Lambaesis, to which he wisely adds parallel plans of fortresses elsewhere in the Roman Empire. The collection of plans should be useful; the actual details of Lambaesis are worth a great deal. Among other curious features, one notices that one of the gates, the north gate, is divided into two unequal entrances, as at the Saalburg and in the little fort lately excavated by Chancellor Ferguson on Hardknott Fell. The exact meaning of such details can only be ascertained by collection of instances and in this M. Cagnat helps very greatly. The account of Lambaesis is followed by that of other lesser though hardly less interesting forts—mostly possessing names which are meaningless save to a specialist in African geography—whether situated on the frontier or on roads of communication. Plans of many are given, some of them due, like much else in the book, to the author's own travels. At this point, however, M. Cagnat's sketch, through no fault of his own, becomes somewhat scanty. The truth is that the sites of these forts lie in half-explored country, and not all the travels of M. Cagnat and his energetic countrymen have yet exhausted the subject. Even Lambaesis seems to have been but partially examined. A *Pénitencier* and a garden belonging thereto cut off two gates and about a third of the camp, and the plan given of the rest does not show any great amount of excavated buildings beyond the adjuncts of

the Praetorium, the baths, and a building, between the two, of which the object is uncertain. In the smaller forts, the absence of buildings is more natural: the exterior wall and the praetorium may well have been almost the only stone erections in the place, if, at least, one can argue from the evidence of some Roman forts in Britain. Still the contrast between these plans and the plans, for instance, of Chester, is striking to an English reader. Further research, however, will, doubtless, clear up what now seems dark and perhaps reveal the actual constitution of the 'limes.' Meanwhile, M. Cagnat has sketched the framework into which future finds will fit. He has been peculiarly successful, as it seems to me, in setting forth the connexion of the various frontier lines and the growth of the frontier. The great difficulty to the Romans was the Aurès mountain, too rough to occupy, too wild to subdue. Accordingly Lambaesis was planted a little to the north, and a frontier line of forts carried along the northern slopes of the range. Then, to relieve the strain, a second line was carried along the southern slopes, thus isolating the mountaineers from the outer barbarians of the Sahara and diminishing their powers of mischief. We have the same arrangement in northern Britain. The wall of Pius, from Glasgow to Edinburgh, was not a substitute for the earlier southern line of Hadrian from Newcastle to Carlisle. The Scotch lowlands were simply enclosed like the Aurès, and each district was similarly left unoccupied save by one or two communication roads and their adherent fortresses.

Space forbids me to enter on the last hundred pages of M. Cagnat's book, dealing with the post-diocletianic army of Africa with its elaborate *limes*, and matter fails me for the usual valedictory list of corrections. There are, of course, in so extensive a work various openings for the critic's spear. One might desiderate proofs of the classification of roads on p. 684, at least as here applied, and ask for more about the roads generally. It is possible too that on p. 360 the name of a town has been turned by the printer into a cognomen. But it is hardly necessary to say that a work by M. Cagnat is free from serious mistakes of all sorts. One need really do no more than congratulate the author on having produced a work worthy of French archaeology and of his own reputation and on having made a very valuable addition to the little group of books which deal with the Roman army.

F. HAVERFIELD.

## WIRTH'S 'DANAЕ IN CHRISTIAN LEGENDS.'

*Danae in Christlichen Legenden*, von ALBRECHT WIRTH. (Vienna, Tempsky, 1892. Pp. vi. 160.) 5 Mks.

The scientific treatment of the vast store of Christian hagiography falls into two main branches. To sift out the genuine material for history is the most obvious task. Here the work of Ruinart paved the way, and the critical researches of Duchesne, de Rossi and other scholars promise to yield solid results. But where the nebula of legend encloses little or no core of verifiable fact, where direct history is sought in vain, the history of legend remains a problem full of interest from many points of view. The work of the Church historian finds a meeting-point with that of the student of mythology, folk-lore, and general anthropology as well as with that of the classical scholar. Pre-eminent in this difficult and complex study is Hermann Usener of Bonn, to whom the volume before us is suitably dedicated, and whose investigation of the legend of S. Pelagia it follows up by a study of those of S. Irene and her kindred. Usener's main result, that Pelagia is a Christianized survival of Aphrodite, or rather of her Syrian counterpart, is at first sight paradoxical. It is objected by an eminent writer in the *Dict. Christ. Biogr.* that the Church had an ample enough choice of saints and martyrs without going afield to enlist heathen divinities for the purpose. But the problem really was not where to find martyrs, but what was to become of the beliefs, superstitions, and practices, ineradicably ingrained in the life and thought of the people, which the rapid spread of Christianity and its eventual adoption as the religion of the empire could not sweep aside. Folk-lore dies hard. Christian Europe in our own days is full of stories, beliefs, and usages, which comparative study shows to be more truly archaic than the myths of Homer or the hymns of the Vedas. Many such no doubt survived the Christianizing of the ancient world in the form of obstinately persistent but illicit or merely tolerated superstition. But others were converted and baptized like the peoples of whose life they formed a part. The extent of this process of course is open to question, but of the fact, illustrated by Wirth in the second section of his book under the head of 'Heidnisches im Christentum,' there can be no question at all.

The main subject of the work is the way in which the story of Danae reappears in the legends of SS. Irene, Barbara, Christina, and, in a greater or less degree, in those of a whole family of more or less legendary saints.

Mr. Wirth begins by a discussion of 'the antique story' of Danae which, as has long been observed, is somewhat loosely embedded in the legend of Perseus and Akrisius, which itself would appear to combine traditions of early national immigrations with elements of myth proper. To the latter belong two very widely spread 'motives':—the destined deliverer set afloat in infancy in a chest, and the ancestor fated to die by the hands of his son or descendant. The latter readily lent itself to the purposes of the solar myth, but Wirth may be wrong in seeing its original meaning in this quarter. In Greek myth, Danae is of later origin than her son. But her seclusion and celestial marriage find their parallel, as Wirth points out, all over the world, and stamp her—not in name but in her adventures—as a very archaic heroine. Her origin is in fact far older than the mythical theologies of Persephone or of Mithra, to which Mr. Wirth is content to carry it back (pp. 5 sq.). The practice, almost universal with man in his savage state, of secluding young girls, especially from the sun, on their arrival at maturity, has given rise to the whole class of legends of which Danae is the type. (For the fact, and a possible explanation of it, see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii. 225—243: the Kirghis story on p. 237 has the floating chest along with the cosmopolitan features, and must be a migratory variant of Danae herself.) It is therefore of startling interest to note that the Paris text of the legend of S. Irene preserves the motive for her seclusion that 'her father feared lest the Sun should in envy spoil her beauty,' an archaic touch which the Greek literature of Danae has failed to reproduce, and which the Christian hagiographers found only to reject (the Vienna MS. substitutes της for ὥντος).

In view of this fact, the Semitic affinities (pp. 6—9) of the story are of minor interest, and we may dispense with the suggestion that the chamber of Danae was a reminiscence of a Semitic temple.

Having thus laid the foundation of his study, Mr. Wirth considers the general

subject of 'Heidnishes im Christentum' (see above). That Christian saints, especially in Southern Europe, have succeeded to the functions and patronage of heathen gods is notorious; and, conversely, saints of heathen origin must lurk among some at least of the following: S. Apolline, S. Bacco, S. Esculapio, S. Marte, S. Mercurio, S. Quirino, S. Romolo, S. Saturno, S. Fortuna, Sta. Venere, S. Silvano, Sta. Lucina. For example, St. Dionysius is a historical figure (Acts xvii. 34); but in the folk-lore of Naxos he has inherited the credit of introducing the vine, in Sicily St. Agatha is the heroine of Penelope's web, and the cruel death of the son of Theseus has been inflicted by later legend on the great S. Hippolytus of Rome.

S. Barbara is the most famous of the saints who make up the Irene cycle. The local origin of her legend may well have been northern Asia Minor. On the one hand her invariable association in MSS. with S. Juliana would point to Nicomedia; on the other, the Paris MS. places her martyrdom at Heliopolis near Eukhaita. Eukhaita lay on the north border of Cappadocia, very far east from Nicomedia, and there is no trace of a Heliopolis in the neighbourhood. Prof. Ramsay conjectures 'Verinopolis' (*Hist. Geogr. A.M.* p. 324), which may satisfy the topographical conditions. But the fact that Heliopolis is one of the many features common to the legends of Barbara and Aseneth (*Class. Rev.* Dec. 1890, p. 472) imports an element of doubt until the relative priority of the two legends is cleared up. Barbara, Aseneth, and Irene are all secluded in a tower for a similar purpose; all reject the proposal of marriage; all alike are mysteriously converted to Christ; all insult their parents' gods; Barbara baptizes herself, Aseneth and Irene are illuminated by a miraculous visitant whose language is in part identical; Barbara and Aseneth are both located at Heliopolis. The fortunes of Irene (May 5) are in some respects in contrast to the other two. She is the daughter of the impious king Licinius of the city 'Mageddon,' and is brought up under the tuition of the aged Ampelianus. Her angelic visitant announces Timothy the disciple of St. Paul, who comes and baptizes her. She converts her mother by a religious address. The triumph is interrupted by the demon 'Arkion'; he lays a spell on her father (ἐποίει Λικίνιον), who engages in controversy with her, persecutes her, and is killed by a talking horse, but is revived by Irene, con-

verted, and abdicates (like Buddha). His place is taken by Sedekias (= Yesdegerd) and Sapor, kings of Persia, under whom a wearisome succession of speeches, tortures, martyrdoms, revivals, etc., end by her revisiting her parents at her home, Mageddon, whence she is borne on a cloud to Ephesus. Here she is rejoined by Ampelianus (the narrator) and miraculously disappears. The Latin counterpart of Irene is Christina (July 24), whose legend has much in common with those of Irene and Barbara, and one distinctive touch (the marvellous bread brought by the angel) of the story of Aseneth. The medieval Christina Mirabilis (July 24) with her aerial travels and frequent resurrections from martyrdom preserves some touches of Irene more faithfully than her earlier Tuscan namesake. It may be worth mentioning here that Barbara also first meets us, in the *Martyrol. Rom. parvum* (Dec. 16), as a Tuscan saint (Neumann, *der röm. Staat und die alig. Kirche* i. 327).

We next have a discussion of 'kindred matter' (pp. 23—37). The stories of SS. Sophia, Pistis, Elpis and Agape, of St. Venera, one of the thirteen companions of Erina tortured by Licinius, of St. Aikaterina (*vulgo* Catherine) of Alexandria, of St. Pelagia (a Cinderella or 'ugly duckling' tale), of Joseph and Aseneth, SS. Barlaam and Joasaph, of the Madonna di Trapani, of SS. Euphemia, Albina, Illuminata, Fusca, Maura, of S. Charalampius with his 'levitation' and his talking horse (see Neumann, p. 293)—all these are full of the names and incidents of the Irene-legend in ever-shifting combinations. Outside the cycle of Christian hagiography the Roumanian folk-tale of Floriana, and various tales in the Arabian Nights, testify to the continued influence of the Danae 'motif' upon early medieval legend. The vexed question of the etymology of 'Catherine' may be singled out from this mass of detail. The original form of the name is *Έκατερίνη* or *Αικατερίνη*, so that all etymologies (such as *'Αιεικαθαρίνη*, *'Η καθαρίνη*) which are founded on the (non-extant) adjective *καθαρίνος* coin an 'etymon' which does not even explain its derivative. This at any rate is clear. But the true etymology is hard to determine. Wirth, following Sathas, adopts the tempting equation of -erina with Erina, explains the latter as *'Ηρινή* (the spring-spirit), and sees in *Έκατερίνη* simply Hecate-Erina. I have no opportunity of consulting the *Μεταωνυμικὴ βιβλιοθήκη* and therefore cannot pretend to estimate the grounds on which Sathas adopts this startling combination.

At any rate Irene and Licinius are more like their mythological ancestors, Persephone and Zeus, than their immediate parents, Danae and Akrisius. The tale exemplifies in fact the process of 'atavism' by which a late literary form of a legend often 'harks back' to some archaic feature which older literature has dropped. The Nereids of the Greek islanders of to-day are still the old capricious fairies whom Homer had already refined into Thetis and her lovely peers.

The general question of 'elements of the Irene legends' (pp. 37—54) will be found interesting to folk-lorists. The complicated cycle illustrates almost every phase of the question of the independent origin ('parthenogenesis') of similar stories, of their combinations, migrations, and genealogy. The names, days, and traits of the Irene group of saints find many points of contact with antiquity; in particular the spring-nymph Irene, one of the Horae, has contributed to the protean attributes of our saint. Of more historical importance, as tending to fix the date of the legend, are the tales of the Sassanidae (see below).

The Indian influences (p. 69—77) on the story form part of the larger question of the intercourse between India and the west since the conquests of Alexander, and of the attractiveness of things Indian generally, and Buddhism in particular, for the western imagination. That the very unwestern idea of a king abandoning his throne for the contemplative life came from the Lalita Vistara is made probable by Wirth (p. 75 *sigg.*), and if so it cannot be an accident that Irene's home, Mageddo, bears the name of a well-known residence of Siddartha-Gautama, viz. Maghada, which is moreover the scene of the tale of Joasaph, and occurs also in some of the apocryphal acts of Apostles, *e.g.* those of Andrew and Bartholomew (Lipsius iii. 79, 85, iv. 96), where it is confused apparently with Megiddo in Palestine. In illustration of this point it may be mentioned that the false accusation of unchastity brought against Athanasius (Rufin. Theodoret) or Eusebius (Philost.) at the Council of Tyre, an incident unknown to the contemporary authorities, is told of Buddha in the Lalita Vistara.

The legends of Barbara and Irene, as they stand, are not only Christian but orthodox. But they have reached their present form only after many vicissitudes, and are full of traces of Gnostic origin or manipulation. Irene is a personified abstraction of the sort popular in Gnostic

systems, like Sophia, Pistis, Nike, etc. If Persephone and Danae are the mythical, the Gnostic Sophia is the spiritual prototype of our saint. The soul, separated from God in the body, attains to light by its innate upward tendency. Barbara accordingly (like Thekla) baptizes herself. Irene doubtless did so, but we now have her story with an orthodox accommodation: Timothy, the ubiquitous disciple of St. Paul, correspondent of Dionysius the Areopagite, contemporary of Sapor, etc., is introduced as Irene's Christian instructor. The 'levitations,' talking animals, theosophic numbers, the scarabaei of S. Barbara—the whole apparatus of the tales points, like so much in the apocryphal acts of the Apostles, to a Gnostic origin. But this subject awaits further and more precise verification.

The Irene story, then, is a fusion of allegory and legend, and the legendary element is partly heathen mythology, partly human story; and the latter again is in part founded on historical facts, in part pure romance. The romantic element turns on the idea of the feminine disciple, which also inspired the tale of S. Thekla (who has much in common with S. Irene), and, with the sensuous and erotic side less completely suppressed, that of S. Pelagia, and the famous romance of Cyprian and Justina. Cyprian, the prototype of Faust, is the counterpart of our Licinius, and strange to say is also converted by the ubiquitous Timothy, while Justina like Irene converts her mother. The complicated relations of all these stories are probably due to oral circulation. But there are features which seem to postulate literary redaction as a factor in the problem (p. 64). If we had the works of Leucius and of Philip of Side, some light might be thrown on their history. The historical elements of our story consist mainly in the names of kings and emperors. Licinius is certainly the rival of Constantine, and the fortunes of his victim Valeria, daughter of Diocletian, probably suggested his introduction into the Irene story. Thessalonica, where Valeria was put to death, is a centre of devotion to S. Irene. S. Barbara's judge, Marcian, may owe his name to the emperor (+457). But most important of all are the names of the Sassanid kings of Persia. The legend embodies the popular tradition of Sapor II. and does not go later than Bahram-Gor (+ 442). Its compilation therefore falls within the fifth century, and it was doubtless in Persia also that it received its Indian touches. The source common to

Irene, Barbara, [Aseneth], and Christina had none of these, nor any reference to the Sassanidae, and is therefore hardly later than 400. The Barbara legend bears traces of the middle of the fifth, the Christina legend of the middle of the sixth century.

The migrations of this strange Christianized Danae-cycle bring us into contact with nearly every province of the Roman world. Originating in Asia Minor, where the earliest Christian hypostatization of Oriental Aeons combined with reminiscences of the Nicomedian martyrs, the stream flows through Syria, associating itself with local names as it goes, into Egypt, the scene of the tale of Aseneth, and perhaps of Barbara, to Persia, to Armenia whence we have the first extant redaction of Irene (later than 600), to Cyprus, and to Constantinople, where Irene and Barbara are both established before 600. Here Irene the martyr (May 5) must not be confused with the older personified Irene 'Parathalassia' who was celebrated at Constantinople on Jan. 21. Westward, our group of saints penetrated to the Balkan peninsula (on Thessalonica *vide supra*, Mesembria is another scene of her martyrdom in *Synaxar. Messin.*). The Iconoclast troubles, and then the Crusades, brought a Greek influx, and with it Irene and her companions, to Sicily, where many ancient deities and stories survive in Christian form, to Italy, where Christina and Barbara found a home by 'the great Volsinian mere,' and to Rome, where all the saints of this cycle must needs have a local legend (p. 93). Traces of the legend occur also in Western Europe and especially in Germany, where also no less than five of the '14 Nothelfer' are connected more or less directly with the Irene cycle.

Mr. Wirth prints the Greek text of the Barbara and of the Irene legends, the latter from the Paris MS. 1470 of about A.D. 840, one of the oldest 'legend' MSS. extant. Of the numberless MSS. of Barbara, he prints from Vat. 866, fol. 139 saec. xi. exext., the parent text of most Latin MSS. Of the better Messinensis 76, saec. xii., he has made a collation. Among the Latin MSS. the Pragensis viii. A 15 (saec. xiv.) is peculiar and interesting, combining *inter alia* Heliopolis in Egypt with Nicomedia. Latin MSS. of Irene are scarce, or rather unknown before 1600, but there is a medieval Italian MS. at Siena.

The texts are furnished with a brief grammatical index, and a general 'index

graecus' which must be pronounced inadequate. The general index also comprises some additions and corrections.

The present reviewer has attempted to give an adequate idea of Mr. Wirth's book without encumbering his notice with too much comment of his own, or with more than the necessary outline of a subject which the author follows into a perplexing multiplicity of detail.

For example, the personality of Amelianus, the guardian of Irene in most texts, but her accuser and judge in *Menol. Bas.*, seems a reflex of Apollonius of Tyana, who also gives a name to Appelius, one of the three magi, and to Apollonius of Tyre, whose tale, with features akin to that of Danae, is the parent of Shakspere's *Pericles*. This side-problem illustrates the difficulty of arranging in consecutive order a discussion so complex in its elements: it is placed under the head of 'Christian treatment; sources and tributaries' (p. 67), but would surely have been more in place among the 'kindred matter' (p. 33); and we find the 'elements' treated (p. 37 *sqq.*) quite separately from the 'sources and tributaries.'

Perhaps Mr. Wirth's ingenuity in unravelling the various threads sometimes carries him beyond the limits of certainty or even probability: e.g. in connexion with the appearance of Timothy under the Sassanidae he rightly enough mentions the parallel of Archippus (*Class. Rev.* Oct. 1890, p. 369) and the popular expectation of the return to life of Alexander the Great, Barbarossa, and other great men (it is interesting to learn that in 1887 Bohemian pilgrims brought home the assurance that Joseph II. was still alive at Rome!) and further appeals to the revival by the Paulicians of the names of St. Paul and his companions. But that is slender ground for the claim to have proved (p. 88) the contact of the latter sect with the Irene cycle. In particular, I think all his references to the Gospel narratives (pp. 79, 83, 84, etc.) would have been better away. They are mostly very far-fetched, and of little relevancy to his main purpose. In the treatment of Danae and the associated Greek myths, with all his command of varied material, the writer does not seem to get beyond the solar and nature-myth as the key to ancient legend. The volume is on the whole carefully printed; but I have noticed on p. 1. פָרָע for פָרַע,

p. 87 l. 19 'von' for 'vor,' p. 95 l. 11 from bottom, the *i* in Triumph left out. More-

over, the references are often inaccurate (*e.g.* p. 13, note 7), and those to the printed Greek text are not easy to verify.

On the whole, Mr. Wirth has given us an able and suggestive essay on a most complicated problem. Making every deduction for an occasional tendency to overshoot the mark, the book is a solid contribution to Christian folk-lore, and promises well for its author's future labours. So far he is only known by an edition of the Acts of SS. Nereus and Achilles (Leipz. 1890), which I have not seen. We are shortly to expect from him a discussion of the names of emperors etc. in the XIVth book of the Sibyllines. Meanwhile, his work confirms us in the impression that just as the most

signal miracles are commonly wrought at the shrines of the most unquestionably spurious relics and apparitions, so the popularity and wonder-working fame of a saint has often been in inverse ratio to his or her claims to historical reality. As Papebroek says of S. Barbara: 'Acta valde incertae sunt fidei: sed minime incerta... sunt miracula ad invocationem ejus patrata.' The people love to have it so. But the historical examples of Christian life and heroism can only exert their legitimate power if unsparing criticism is allowed to separate the dross of falsehood and credulity from the gold purified seven times in the fire.

A. ROBERTSON.

#### NOTES ON LIDDELL AND SCOTT'S LEXICON.

There are a large number of authors named without the edition from which citations are made being indicated. It would greatly facilitate reference if in every case the edition adopted was mentioned.

P. xvi.—*To list of abbreviations add u.s.=ut supra, e.g. on p. 1283. Explain also Herm. Vig. p. 255 (a).*

*ἄγαμαι*, l. 9.—*After l. add 1.*

*ἄγαμαι*, l. 25.—The ref. to Eur. *Herac.* Fur. 845 should be registered under II. It is so taken by Hermann, Plügk, Bothe and others.

*ἀετός*.—The peculiar use of the word (= 'omen,' 'augury,') in Theocr. 26, 31 should be added. Cf. Hom. Il. 12, 243.

*ἀλπα*.—Under A. 2 add ex. of its intrans. use of movement by sea as well as by land: *ἄλπατε ταῖς ναυσι*, Thuc. 4, 129.

*ἀμπέχω*, l. 5.—*After ἀμπισχοῦνται add (ἀμπισχοῦνται, Bergk, Meineke, as supported by analogy of ὑπισχέομαι).*

*ἀμφελικτός, ον, post. for ἀμφίελ-*. *Read ἀμφελικτός and ἀμψιελ-*.

*ἀνδεῖχομαι*. Under II. 4 use with acc. in Theophrastus 26 (12) *περὶ Ἀκαρίας* should be given.

*ἀνάνομα*, l. 2.—*ηγράμνη*. Add (not in Att.). *Also add ad fin.*—In classical prose used only in pres.

*ἀνδρακάς, ἀνδρακάς καθήσεντος* must be corrupt. The rendering in L. and S. involves a solecism. See Mr. Housman's paper in *Journal of Philology*, vol. xvi. 'In no tongue save the tongue of Soli can one person καθῆσθαι ἀνδρακάς any more than he can form himself in square to receive cavalry.'

*ἀνθρωπος*.—*Add used for man as opposed to woman in LXX., e.g. Esther 4, 11.*

*ἀπίθανος*.—*Add under III. ref. to Luc. Bis Accus.*

20 *τοῦτο μὲν ἀπίθανον*.

*ἀριστερός*, l. 10.—*For ἀρίστερα read ἀριστερά.*

*ἄρκτος*.—In l. 3 it is stated that 'the instances of the masc. are dub.'; but under I. 3 what appears to be a clear example of the masc. is given, *ἄπο τοῦ ἄ.* C. I. 1534.

*ἄντος*, III, l. 2.—Cobet, *Nov. Lect.* p. 436, maintains that *ταῦτον* should always be read before a vowel in prose.

*ἄψις*. 1. 6.—*For ἄψιδα read ἄψιδα.*

1. 10.—*For ἄψιδα πωτάμενος read ἄψιδα πετό-*  
*μενον.*

1. 11.—*For δύψιδας read ἄψιδας.*

*βάλλω*, A. III.—With this use cf. Angl. 'he flung out of the room.'

*βαψή*, l. 5.—*βαψαί ὅρπας* the robe dipped in the hydra's blood. For *robe* read *arrows*. The error is due to a confusion with the Sophoclean legend of the centaur Nessus.

*βοηθέω*.—2 exx. of use of *βοηθεῖν* *ἐπὶ* c. acc., in sense of bringing help to, in Thuc. should also be given. The following might be cited:—3, 97; 4, 72; 8, 11.

*βρόμος* or *βόρμος*.—Add Hesych. cf. *Anth.* P. 9, 368, 6.

*γαμετή* used alone for *wife* or perhaps *intended wife*.—Add to refl. Heliod. 7, 26.

*δαρεικός*.—The etymological note at end is certainly erroneous. See Professor Gardner's article *s.v.* in Smith's *Dict. of Antiqu.* 3rd ed.

*δαστήρου*.—Add to refl. Machon *ap. Ath.* 579.

\**δάῶ*.—Its use in Theocr. 24, 127 is wrongly referred to l. intr. It belongs to II. and is causal in this passage.

*δέ*, III.—No example of the phrase is given from Demosth. with whom it is common enough. It is found also in Tragedy.

*δέξιά*, l. 8.—*For τοτε read τότε.*

It might be worth while to add that the curious collocation *δή γε*, Eur. *Herac.* Fur. 1146 (dub.), *Suppl.* 162 (dub.), *Herac.* 632, *Iph. Aul.* 1207, seems to be due in almost every case to a.f. l.

*διάφορος*.—The use of the word as a term of Stoic philosophy (*e.g.* Luc. *Bis Accus.* 22 *οἰσθα τι διάφορον καὶ αἰδιάφορον*) is not mentioned.

*δοκιμάζω*, II. 3.—*To think fit to do.* Add to refl. Luc. *Bis. Accus.* 31.

*After δοκιμάζων* add *δοκιμάζων*. *Anth.* P. 10, 22 (Jacobs).

*ἔγώ*, l. 3.—The form *ἔγών* is described as very rare in Attic, and the only voucher given is Aesch. *Pers.* 931; but there it occurs in lyrics and, even so, is con-

denied by the best editors, as also in Aesch. *Supp.* 740 (see Dindorf's note *ad loc.*).

**ἔθλω.**—The distinction which the Lex. attempts to establish between this word and **βούλουμαι** is certainly not borne out by the usage of Attic writers at any rate. Shillito's doctrine (as given on Demosth. *De Falsa Legatione* § 26) seems to suit better the passages where the words occur together.

*Iōw.*, l. 25 from top of page.—*Read θῶς.*

**εἰς.**—The use of **εἰς** repeated = 'the one the other' is not adequately illustrated. *Add Theor. 22, 65 εἰς ἐν τῷ χείρας δέρων,* Luc. *Asin.* p. 169. *ἔτώ δὲ ἐν τῷ εἰς ἐν τῷ χειρέχων,* Arrian. *Epictet.* 1, 10. *ἔτο δὲ ἐν τῷ εἰς ἐν τῷ χειρέων.*

**εἰς.**—*Add its use with ἐπιγράφω and such-like words : εἰς ἅγαλμα, on a statue, &c.*

*εἰσκομισθῶν πόλει* Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 242.

**ἐκπίπτω** 2.—*ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλπίδων*, Thuc. 8, 81. The use of the prep. **ἀπὸ** here is extremely doubtful : 'Εκπίπτειν ἀπὸ ἐλπίδων Graece non magis dici videtur quam Latine a spe excidere.' (Poppe Stahl *ad loc.*).

**ἴκυντος.**—The quantity of the penult. should have been marked short ; see *Clas. Rev.* vol. 3, pp. 407, 8, and Jebb on Soph. *Phil.* 1378.

*ἔτι, I. 8, I. 10.*—*Add Soph. El. 1476.*

**ἐνθριάκτος**, l. 1. —*Delete the full stop after Nauck.*

**ἐντελής.**—Is not this word used by the grammarians sometimes for the perfect tense (*παρακείμενος*)?

**ἐπαλεῖφω**, l. 5.—*ἔπ.* *τοῦς τούχους* Paus. 6, 3, 15. It should have been mentioned that the phrase is a proverbial one = 'to play fast and loose,' 'to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds' ; cf. Cie. *ad Fam.* 7, 29 'duo parientes de eadem fidelia dealbare.'

**ἐπιγράφω**, l. 18.—'With a play on signif. II. 5.' *Read III. 5.*

**ἐπικαλέω.**—The Lex. states that the Act. is used to translate the Roman *appello*, and quotes Plut. *Marc.* 2. It is the Med. however that is used in that passage as well as in Plut. *Caes.* 4 *init.* Also in Acts 25, 11, 12, 25, &c.

*ἐπιχαλάω*, l. 2.—*For δίαι read δίαισιν.*

**εἰρήτις.**—*Add to ref. Heliodor. 7, 25.*

P. 632.—The quantity of the **ᾳ** in **ζᾳ** has been omitted in the case of several of the compounds.

**ἴωσις**, II. a.—It might be well to give an example of this use in Com., e.g. Ar. *Eg.* 111. *ἔων καθένδει.*

**ἴωσις**, I. 6.—In later Att. **ἴωσην**. This form occurs from Theophr. down. Ref. to Winer's Gramm. § 9, 2, d. and Thayer's edition of Grimm's Wilke's *Clavis* might with advantage be added.

**ἴημαριον.**—*Add* and **ἴημαρον** and *add to ref. Apcal. Div. Jo.* 8, 1.

**ἵπειρογερῆς** of the Persians, says the Lex. inaccurately. The ref. is to the Lydians and Ionians. **θαυμᾶσι** I. 3.—Thuc. 3, 38 is quoted twice, unnecessarily.

**ἴδεμος.**—No example is given of its use as adj. in Trag. *Add Eur. Herc. Fur.* 109.

**ἴοκολπος.**—The Lex. explains as = *ἰόχωρος* 'with purple girdle.' Mr. G. S. Farnell's suggestion 'dark-bosomed' of some Southern beauty seems to give a more poetical and more appropriate meaning.

**ἴττος.**—The occurrence of the word in some dialects without the aspirate should be mentioned.

**καρπιβάρεω**, l. 4.—'Metaph., of spindle charged with wool.' *For wool read yarn.* The **καρπ-** probably refers to the disk at the top of the spindle, elsewhere called **σφύνδολος**, the *turbo* of Catullus.

**κατακτάμαι.**—*Add to ref. Thuc. 4, 86.*

**καταλαμβάνω**, II. 2.—The Lex. quotes Thuc. 8, 63, 65 for sense 'discover, catch, find.' No doubt this sense is applicable in the passage in c. 65 ; but not

to that in c. 63, on which Duk. (followed by Poppe Stahl, &c.) writes 'arbitror... Thuc. hoc velle Pisandrum et ceteros legatos Atheniensium a Tissapherne Samum reversos factionem apud exercitum confirmasse et conspiratores arctioribus quibusdam vinculis inter se adstrinxisse. Nam καταλαμβάνειν etiam est adstringere, obligare, ut in iis quea e Thuc. 1, 9, 1, et 4, 86, 1 profert Steph. in Thes. ὥρκοις καταλαμβάνειν.'

**καταλείχω** is not registered by L. and S. It occurs in an epigram quoted by Scaliger (from the *Anthologia*, on Sueton. *Calig.* 20. See Maclean's note on Juvenal 1, 44.

**καταρχέομαι.**—*Add to ref. under I. LXX. (e.g. Zach. 12, 10).*

**κελεύω.**—'c. dat. pers. followed by inf. ... so in Att. Thuc. 8, 38, &c.' The passage is **κελεύοντες σφίσι τὴν Ἀστυόχον Βοηθεῖν**, where **σφίσι** is unquestionably under the government of **Βοηθεῖν**. Other apparent examples of **κελεύω** c. dat. in Att. admit of equally easy explanation. Professor Goodwin correctly states the rule (*Gr. Gram.* § 184, 2, n. 2):—'Κελεύω in Attic Greek has only the accusative (commonly with the infinitive); in Homer generally the dative.' The preference for the act. infin. and the unclassical use of the passive infin. and accus. might have been also with advantage mentioned in the Lex.

**κιλοστήρ,** l. 1. —*Correct Theor. 34 to 24.*

*After κοινέοις add the word κοινέων (=κοινωνός)* restored by conjecture in Eur. *Her. Fur.* 340 by Scaliger, and almost certainly to be supplied in 149 also, as suggested by Gray and Hutchinson.

**κρόταφος**, **κρότεω** is given as the derivation. Better **κόρητη**, **κρότσια**.

**κτείς**, 8.—*Add to ref. Arist. ap. Ath. 88. Theor. (Wordsw.) 14, 17. Alex. ap. Ath. 356.*

**κυάγκη.**—*Read κυάγχη*, Dor. **κυάγχα.**

**κυνήγετέω**, l. 3.—*For 896 read 898.*

**λαγώς.**—*At end of I. add cf. Xen. Cyneg. 5, 11. λαμβάνω.*—No examples of the use without **χειρὶ** &c. is given except from Hom. It is also Att. e.g. Ar. *Av.* 1055.

**λεῖχω.**—*Add from Veitch* :—This word does not occur in classic Attic prose.

**λῆγα** II. 2.—*Add Elect. 1428 to ref. from Sophocles.* It would be worth noting also that **λῆγα** occurs in Soph. only in the three passages given, and always in a bad sense.

**μαστηγώς** 2.—In the passage cited from Plato *Legg.* 845 A. the dat. depends not on *μαστηγών* but on *ιστρόθυρος*, as the context shows.

**μέν**, p. 940, l. 3 from top.—The quotation from Plat. *Meno* does not belong to this place. It is given again under A. II. 8, to which it properly belongs. Under that heading it ought to be added that the **μέν** is used to emphasize slightly the alternative preferred.

Under B. II. 2 it might be inferred from the quotations that the use of **μέν οὖν** *absol.* (=so then) is peculiar to Trag.; but instances could be given also from Att. prose, e.g. Demosth. *Olynth.* 2, 3.

**μεταβολή.**—The distinction between this word and **μετάρτατις**, e.g. Thuc. 6, 20, Demosth. *Ol.* 2, 13, should be indicated. A ref. might be given to Poppe Cf. also Thuc. 2, 48.

**μήτηρ**, p. 963, l. 1.—'μητέρος once in iambics, Eur. *Rhes.* 393.' *Add H. F. 843.*

**νεανίεονται** II.—The statement 'in usage always' &c. needs modification in the light of such passages as Luc. *Bis Accus.* 21 and Plut. *Demosth.* 3, the latter of which is cited in the Lex. itself.

**νήγλαρος.**—*a small pipe or whistle, used by the κελευστῆς*, says the Lex.; but the **αὐλάς** of the **κελευστῆς** is mentioned just before, so that it would

seem more probable that *νίγλ.* = 'shakes,' 'quavers,' *τερπίσματα πεπίεργα, κρύσματα.* So Paley, quoting from Hesych. At any rate the second explanation ought to be added in the Lex. as an alternative.

*νουθετέω* c. acc. rei in sense of to give advice about: Eur. *H. F.* 855.

*οἶον*, 'neut. of *οἶος*, v. *οἶος VI.*' For VI. read V. *δημόροια.*—It might be added that the form is recognized by Hesychius, Phavorinus, and Photius. *ὅριστω* II. To dig up.—Add ref. to Theocrit. 5, 123.

*σῶος I. 7.*—The passage quoted from Hdt. 1, 14 does not belong to this heading: *Σῶα* is not to be joined with *πλεῖστα*, which here=very many.

*οὐδὲτος*, l. 7.—Add See Shilleto on Dem. *De F. L.* § 74.

*οὐκοῦν.*—The manner in which the negative force came to be dropped ought to be explained. It was due to the use of *οὐκ οὖν* in questions, e.g. *οὐκ οὖν βασιλεὺς εἰ σύ;* Art thou not then a king?—So thou art a king then. Cf. Herm Vig. pp. 792 sq.

*πᾶλος.*—Add to ref. Schol. Arist. *Plut.* 301.

*παρά.*—Under refl. in 5 c. should be added *παρὰ πέντε ναῦς, for every five ships*, Thuc. 8, 29.

The ref. to Hyperid. under 6 would seem to belong more properly to 5.

The use of *παρά* c. accus. in such passages as Ar. *Av.* 846, *οἴμως παρ' ἔρει* for all I care, ought to be added. It would perhaps be best classified under 6. Cf. Lat. *mea causa*.

See, IV. p. 1124. There is no such word as *παρβύνυμι* to be found in the Lex.: *παρορκέω* is the word for to *forswear oneself*.

*παράβασις* ad fin.—Add and *Aves.*

*παρακλεῖσμα*, l. 11.—For *διακλείσω* (which does not occur) read *διακλείσαμαι*.

*παρακύπτω* '3 of persons outside a place, to peep in, look in, κατ' ἄντρον παρακύπτοισα, Theocrit. 3, 7.'—But Amaryllis is *within* the cave and peeping out. This ref. should therefore be placed under 2.

*παράξεις* 2.—Add to ref. Frontonis *Epp.* ad *Anton.* 1, 2 (ed. Naber).

After *παραλιταίνω* insert *παραλίται*, Hesych. See under *πάραλος* III. 2.

After *παραστῆγης* Seidler's convincing conjecture *παρασταῖνω*, Aesch. *Pers.* 100, ought perhaps to be added.

*πένομαι* 2.—An example of its occurrence in Com. in this sense might have been given, e.g. Ar. *Eq.* 1271.

*πλήρης*, l. 4.—For *διμέλα* read *διμίχλα*.

*πλήσιος* II. 2.—Eur. *Hec.* 996 is given apparently as an authority for the expression *δι πλήσιον*; but the only recognized reading in that passage is *τῶν τληντῶν*, and it seems to be the Attic usage to employ the phrase only in the plural. There seems to be no example of the singular in Aesch., Soph., Eur., or Ar. *πλησιομα*, l. 3.—For *sinuincte* read *sinuinctus*.

*πολύλαγχος*, l. 3.—In Eur. *H. F.* 1197 it is much more likely that the word means 'more misled,' *πόσις*....—'No Attic gen. *πόσεως* is found, Pors. *Med.* 906.' What Porson really said was that he could not recall any example of either *πόσεως* or *πόσεως*. Acc. to Prof. Jebb (Soph. *Ant.* 909) the genitive of the word was not in Attic use.

*πόσις* i. 5, b, l. 4.—*κατὰ πόσις ἀλλοκειν*..... Xen. *Cyr.* 1, 6, 40, *Mem.* 2, 6, 9. In the second passage the verb is *θηράπιν*, not *ἀλλοκομια*, as incorrectly given on p. 1776.

*πρῖνος*, l. 4.—For *kermes* read *kernels*.

*προαιδέομαι*, l. 2.—For *τινές* read *ἄτρινες* and for *προρέατο* read *προαιδέατο* and omit words in brackets. If however the inferior reading *προρέατο* be preferred, then alter 3 pl. perf. to 3 pl. plpf.

*προβατευτής*, Correct the obsolete spelling *grasier* to *grasier*.

*προβάτιον* in Ar. *Av.* 856 must mean a little goat, a kid. Cf. 959, 1057.

*πρόσκειμα*, l. 8 from foot of page.—For Ib. 133 read Ib. 1, 133.

*πρόσπτος*, l. 2.—For *προβπτον* read *προῦπτον* or *πρόβπτον*.

*προτιμάω*, l. 2.—The ref. to Thuc. 8, 64 ought to be transferred to 3, as the correct reading is almost certainly *τῆς... ὑπούλου εἰνούλας*. So Dionys. p. 800.

*προφορόποαι, διάεσθαι* is to set up the warp. The statement made in the Lex. is unmeaning, as it stands.

*πυραμοῦ*.—L. and S. incorrectly state that *πυραμοῦ* was a prize bestowed upon the most wakeful. This was the *πυραμίς*, as the passage *ap.* Ath. 647 C clearly shows. It was the *πυραμίς*, not the *πυραμοῦ*, that was made of wheat and honey, as may be seen from the explanation given by L. and S. from the *E. M.* s.v. *πυραμίς*; the *πυραμοῦ* was made of sesame, as may be seen from Ath. 114 B.

*σαγή*, l. 1.—For *σάγη* read *σαγῆ* for the sake of consistency.

*σαρθρός*.—The etymological note says 'Origin uncertain'; but see note in the *Academy*, Feb. 16, 1889, p. 116.

*σκαίω*, l. 2.—For *ἀρστρόπος* read *ἀριστρόπος*.

*σπουδάζω*, ii. 1.—After Eur. *H. F.* 507 add cf. 89.

*συντυχία*.—Conflicting explanations of the word, as it occurs in Eur. *H. F.* 776, are given in l. 6 and l. 18. The latter seems greatly to be preferred.

*τᾶρ*, l. 11.—It ought to be indicated by an asterisk that *τᾶρ* is only a conjectural form.

*τεῖν*.—Add to ref. Ar. *Av.* 930.

*τελεώματες τὰς σπονδάς* is wrongly rendered. It should be having completed the libations.

*τις*, l. 2.—'II. 6' appears to be an error, as in all the refl. under that heading the word is an enclitic. l. 17.—Followed by read used with.

*τρίδουνος*.—Add to ref. Achill. *Tat.* 8, 1.

*Τρόπος* (*Τρόψ*) and *Τρώς*. L. and S. quote only Hom. for these forms. It might perhaps be inferred that their use is confined to Hom. *Τρώς* is used by Soph. and Aesch. and both forms are used often by Eur. Neither seems to occur in Ar., but both are found in Pind. and *Τρώς* in Thuc.

*ὑπάρχω*, l. 2.—After 7, 11 insert A.

*ὑπόδι*, F. In composition.—Add III. and illustrate its meaning of *per contra, in an opposite direction*, by such words as *ὑποκρίνεσθαι, ὑπολογίσεσθαι, ὑπαντάν, ὑπωρεύσθαι*, and give ref. to Riddell's *Plat. Apol. Digest* § 131.

*ὑστλητξ*.—After quotation from Joseph. add Fronio, *Epp. Graec.* ii.

*φθόρα*.—Its use in early Christian writings in sense of *abortion* might be added, e.g. *Didache*, c. 2, also in Clem. Al. &c. Cf. *φθόριος* as used by Hipp.

*φράξω*.—Contradictory explanations of the word as used in *Od.* 14, 3 are given p. 1690 (a) l. 4 from foot and p. 1690 (b) l. 13 from top. To refl. in I. 1 add Ar. *Av.* 49.

*χαρμάω*.—Ar. *Eq.* 824 is wrongly cited as an authority for use of *Act.* It occurs in the *Med.* in that passage as in all the others quoted by L. and S.

*ψῆφος* II. 1 ad fin.—For *ψηφῶν* read *ψήφων*.

P. 1775, s.v. *δανακορότης*. For *δανκακ-* read *δαννακ-*.

P. 1776, s.v. *δρυθωρίων*. In the correction itself there is a manifest error.

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**P. Cornelius Tacitus**, erklärt von KARL NIPPERDRY. Erster Band, ab excessu Divi Augusti i.-vi. Neunte verbesserte Auflage, besorgt von GEORG ANDRESEN. Berlin, 1892. 3 Mks.

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the appearance of the fifth edition of Vol. ii. (see *Class. Rev.* vi. 461) we have to welcome the ninth of Vol. i. It is of course superfluous to speak generally of the excellence of a work which is probably better known and more highly appreciated than any other edition of any part of Tacitus. The text of this edition differs from that of its predecessor in twenty-two places, in most of which the Medicean reading has either been more accurately ascertained, or has been replaced where it had formerly been set aside. Perhaps the most important of these changes is that Dr. AndreSEN no longer thinks it necessary to read the name of the Ampsivarri for that of the Angrivarri in 2, 8; 22; 24. Also in the three places in which the name of Julius Antonius is mentioned (1, 10; 3, 18; 4, 44) he now reads it as 'Iullus,' a form found in MSS. of Dio and in inscriptions (*C.I.L.* vi. 12010), and from which it is easy to explain the corrupt form 'Iulus' in the first Medicean MS. The commentary occupies a few pages more than that of the last edition, and has undergone considerable revision in many places, especially, as the editor notes in his Preface, in the portions relating to the campaigns of Germanicus. On these he considers the chief new light to have been thrown by Knöke's work (see *Class. Rev.* i. 277), but accepts his conclusions with due caution. On the locality of the defeat of Varus (1, 61), the question is left open between his view and Mommsen's, while as to the site of Idistaviso (2, 16), and that of the subsequent battle (2, 19), his opinion is accepted more unreservedly. Many new inscriptions and other details of information will be found in places too numerous here to mention. H. FURNEAUX.

**C. J. César. Guerre des Gaules**, traduction nouvelle avec notes et un index géographique, par JUSTIN BELLANGER. Paris: Thorin, 1892. 437 pp.

It is rash for an Englishman to criticize a translation in a foreign language, but, so far as the present writer can judge, M. Bellanger seems to have succeeded in the object he sets forth in his preface, that of providing a French 'Caesar,' which should be readable with pleasure by ordinary Frenchmen. There is, no doubt, a demand for such a book in France. The French are keenly alive to the history and antiquities of their country. Their archaeological societies are numerous, not perhaps so over numerous as our own in England, but adequate, vigorous, and appreciative. The conquest of Gaul by Caesar is an old object of study with them; it has attracted their attention under the Empire and under the Republic. Accordingly a literary translation, if correct (as that before me seems to be), should have a wide success. In England, of course, the book has less place, but it is worth a brief note here, in case there be any who care to hear of it.

F. HAVERFIELD.

**J. César. Commentaires sur la Guerre des Gaules**, par E. BENOIST et M.S. DOSSON. Paris: Hachette, 1893. pp. xvi. + 764.

THIS edition, with footnotes, maps, indices, and all other due apparatus, is apparently intended for what we should call school use. It was commenced twenty years ago by M. Benoist on a larger scale, and, since his death, his material has been adopted by M. Dossen. It appears to be a thoroughly sound and scholarly piece of work.

F. HAVERFIELD.

## ARCHAEOLOGY.

### PRIMITIVE HERA-WORSHIP ILLUSTRATED FROM THE EXCAVATIONS AT ARGOS.

(Continued from No. 10, Dec. 1892, p. 474.)

WE reserved for this second notice the mythological evidence arising from Dr. Waldstein's discoveries and more especially from the primitive votive terra-cottas figured in pl. viii. 'As to the purpose which these terra-cotta images served, there can hardly be a doubt,' says Dr. Waldstein, 'that they were votive offerings to the goddess as Hera Teleia, presiding over marriage, married life and child-birth. Hera is above all things the goddess of marriage.'

At first sight this seems plain and simple enough. Hera the bride, Zeus the husband, the centre of her cultus the canonical *ἴεπος γάμου*. But note a strange thing: the

temple is called the Heraion, within it is the statue of the goddess, about it the statues of her priestesses—where is Zeus? To put it shortly — nowhere, unless we take account of the cuckoo sitting on the sceptre. Nowhere until comparatively late days are Zeus and Hera δρυβέμιοι. At Olympia they have separate temples (that of Hera long preceding in date that of Zeus) and separate festivals. At Crete we hear nothing of Hera, at Samos nothing of Zeus. Their names are nothing akin. At ancient Dodona Zeus has his own proper shadow-wife, Dione, a real Greek goddess-helpmeet; for man makes the gods in his own image. H. D. Müller told us all this decades ago (1857) and yet, such is the force of habit, such the magic of Homer, that we still believe that Zeus and Hera were married from all time. But Homer himself knew, or rather was dimly haunted by the memory

of other days. Unless we hold with Mr. Samuel Butler that Homer was the lowest of low comedians, what means this unseemly strife between the Father of gods and men and the woman he cannot even beat into submission? What her urgent tyranny over the strong Herakles whom Zeus loves but cannot protect? Is this tyrannous mistress really made by the Greek house-wife—even of Homeric days—in her own image? Is this the Greek man's ideal of a helpmeet?

It may be urged that the worship of the goddess alone is a frequent phenomenon. It is indeed, and so frequent as to cry aloud for explanation. But in Hera the anomaly is pushed to its uttermost; we have, not Athene or Artemis, maiden-goddesses, ruling *qua* their maidenhood, but a wife, *the* wife, worshipped without, and glorious at the expense of, her husband. Such is the fifth century B.C. conception, such the known from which we start. Plutarch (*Vit. Peric.* 24) tells us that when the comic poet would insult Olympian Pericles the gibe lay near to hand that Aspasia was 'Ομφάλη τε νέα καὶ Δημάνειρα καὶ παλιν Ἡρα. The *why* of all this looks down to us from the pediment sculptures which Pausanias saw 'above the pillars,' where was depicted the 'birth of Zeus.' There was a time when Zeus—for Hera at least—was not born; when she was Hera Teleia, goddess of the *ἱερὸς γάμος*, but with another husband, a true prince-consort whom she ruled with no light hand—, Herakles. Even the *Odyssey* knows of the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of Herakles, how he had to wife 'Hebe of the fair ankles.' But that was after the Dorians got hold of him and made a man—the man of him: he was no slave to the fair young Hebe, but a Greek husband, a translated Olympian 'having joy at the banquet of the deathless gods,' where Hebe was wife attendant, and made the daughter of great Hera now the wife of Zeus. But in olden days she is transparently Hera *ταῦται* herself. Her ancient shrine at Phlius (Paus. ii. 13. 2) was ἀγύρτατον ἐκ παλαιῶν, the most ancient of the Phliasians called her Ganymeda. It was only in later days that she and her ancient husband were made the cupbearers of their feasts by those upstart Olympians. But even then she was still a prophet in her own country. The Phliasians kept her yearly feast, called the 'ivy cuttings,' though they dared keep no image in secret of her, nor show one in public, and why? because close at hand there was a temple and image of Hera! The special point about the Heraion was that it was a refuge for slaves. It has been suggested

and with good reason that these refuges are the note of a cult suppressed by the incoming conqueror: was Herakles the first slave who took refuge in his wife's shrine? But the real relation of Herakles to his wife and 'beste Feindinn' Hera comes out beyond all doubt in the story of Omphale. The Attic comedians spoke a true word in jest, as Dr. Karl Tümpel has shown in his brilliant 'Omphale-Hebe-Thrassa' (*Philologus* 1892, p. 607). Omphale is no Lydian, Herakles no Oriental Sandon, both are pre-Dorian. Omphale is local divinity of Mt. Omphalion on the Malian Gulf, where, at Trachis, Oeta, etc., the Herakles myth centred—it may be originated. Anyhow there it flourished before Herakles went to Argos—Heracles, slave to Omphale, wearing a woman's dress, doing a woman's work—a myth sprung from a cult the record of which Plutarch preserves in his priceless *Quaestiones Graecae*. At the festival of the Antimacheia at Kos (Kos where Zeus complains that Hera drove her slave) the priest wore a γυναικεῖαν ἑσθῆτα, a στολὴν ἀνθίνην, for Hera of the flowers, and ἀναδούμενος μήτρα κατάρχεται τῆς θυσίας, because, so said aetiological legend, he took refuge with a γυνὴ Θράσσα in woman's raiment, i.e. with Omphale the woman of Trachis (*Tραχίς* = *Θράσσης*). At Kos, where the matrons of Ovid's day wore horns in the service of Hera, the temple, like the Heraion, must have been an asylum.

This god serving a goddess, this Herakles slave of the woman of Trachis, Hera-Hebe-Omphale: what does it all mean, what could it mean, but the ancient cult of a people in the stage of gynaecocracy, and such a people Aristotle tells us (and clinches the argument) were those people of Trachis who dwelt about the Malian Gulf (*E.H.G.* ii. 150: Suidas *sub voc.* Μηλακὸν πλοῖον); it was the curse laid on the Malians that μήτε πλοῖα στεγανὰ αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι καὶ ἵπτο τῶν γυναικῶν κρατεῖσθαι δεῖ. It is this gynaecocracy of Hera that even Achaeans Homer is powerless wholly to forget, it is this gynaecocracy that crops up again and again in alien soil, yet never wholly exterminated, in stories of husband-murdering wives—of Danaïdes, of Lemnian women, of Amazons, and of heroes in bondage, like Odysseus to Circe, or to Calypso, and of those who trace descent κατὰ μητέρα like Minyas.<sup>1</sup>

The Heraion then, the woman-temple without the man-god, the wife to whom the husband is subordinate, an accident or incidental attribute, is not so anomalous as

<sup>1</sup> v. J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, pp. 188-201.

it seems ; the position of women in Homer is notably higher than her position in the days of Perikles. Before the Achaean Homeric days there seem to have been, as often in the history of peoples, a stage of *Mutterrecht*—of this the mythological position of Hera is the obvious survival. The question of who precisely these people were, and their relation to the Achaeans who stole their goddess must stand over for a while.

We return to Argos to seek for traces of the subordinate man-god. Of course in the fifth century B.C., in all accounts of the *Ιερὸς γάμος*, the orthodox Zeus was implied, though in cultus not expressed ; but there was an old Hera myth that told another tale, the myth of the *βούκερων πατέρεων* Io, and Argos *πανόπτης*. Here again H. D. Müller has done good service; he has shown clearly—and few, if any, are inclined to dispute it—that Argos Panoptes is the real husband of Io, Argos who wore the bull-skin (Apollod. ii. 1. 1), who when he joins the Argonautic expedition still trails it behind him (Apoll. Rhod. i. 324), who is the bull-god. He alone never leaves Io ; he binds her to the olive-tree in the sacred grove ; he, when a series of etymological guesses have carried her over the Ionian Sea across the Bosphorus far from her own good cow-land of Euboea, still dogs her steps. Unhappily H. D. Müller, though he plainly saw that Argos was husband of Io, darkened counsel by turning Io into Demeter, whereas obviously she is but—to use a convenient term—the ‘heroic hypostasis’ of Hera—Hera whose priestess she is and within whose precinct she dwells. This appearance of the earlier form of a goddess as priestess or ministrant of the later is too common a mythological phenomenon to call for comment. Io *βούκερως* is but Hera *βοῶτις*, and the cow-heads found by Dr. Schliemann at Mykenae and Dr. Waldstein at Argos both tell the same tale ; the goddess and her sacred animal were not in primitive days distinguishable ; hence the horns worn by the Coan matrons.

But Argos with his hundred eyes ? He got them scattered all over his body when Hera got her peacock with its hundred-eyed tail, and that was not till her worship, passing to Samos, came into contact with the bird of the East. In earlier days he had (as one vase shows us) eyes before and behind his head, for he is double-faced, Janus-like ; and earlier still he had (Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1116), according to Pherekydes, but three eyes; an extra one in the back of his head. The tomb of Argos (Paus. ii. 22. 6) was shown at the city that bore his name, and

he had a sacred grove (*ibid.* iii. 4. 1) that Cleomenes laid waste. He had too an ancient image, but men had learnt to call it by another name. It stood on the summit of Larissa, the Pelasgian Argive stronghold (*ibid.* ii. 24. 5); it was ancient, made of wood, and had three eyes, one in the centre of the forehead, Cyclops fashion. It was the god of the Cyclopes who fortified Argos. Of course Pausanias thought it was Zeus with an eye for each of his kingdoms, the heaven above and the earth below, and Hades under the earth. Equally, of course, as the image was so ancient, it had to be reputed a divinity brought from Troy. Carl Ottfried Müller saw long ago (*Dorians*, i. 62) that this three-eyed Zeus is at the bottom of the strange oracle (Paus. v. 3. 5) that bade the Dorian host make a three-eyed man leader of their ‘return.’ They could not enter save by the guidance of an old inhabitant with the prestige of an ancient cult. Dr. M. Mayer pushed the argument some steps further, identified Argos with the three-eyed image, and saw in both (*Titanen und Giganten*, p. 112) the ancient Titan Helios *πανόπτης*, Κύκλωψ, Τρίοψ, Hyperion, *τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ὥλιον, χρυσέας ἀμέρας βλέφαρον*, mundi oculus, Pelasgian Triopas. This ancient divinity paled and dwindled everywhere before the rising of Achaean Zeus, and yet more before the Dorian Apollo, and except in the island of Rhodes, where he preserved something of his ancient splendour, fell from the glory of a mighty year-god to be the merest empty personification of a natural phenomenon. Still, Helios cannot quite be ignored, for if Athene is born from her father’s head, or Aphrodite rises from the waves, they remember that Helios was there before them, though they give him but the corner of a pediment.

Sun-worship—one is afraid of the very word, such nonsense has been written in its name ; it seems to connote emptiness, barrenness, but be it remembered the sun as year-god is not a mere sterile impersonation ; he embodies and controls the whole activities of man and nature ; and then, whether we like it or not, a careful search discloses this sun and moon-worship, below the surface, indeed, but for that the more surely of early prevalence. At Athens, an ancient Pelasgian seat, there was the *πορτῆ Ηλίου* ; to him was offered the ancient sacrifice of the *νηφάλια* : and the *θεογάμια* at Athens was not of Zeus and Hera but of Helios and Selene (Proklos : Hesiod, “*Eryx* 780), for Selene they made cakes called *σελήναι*,

moon-shaped, and another called *βοῦς*, *πέμπα γάρ ἐστι κέρατα ἔχον πεπηγμένα*. The ancient Attic Tritopatores were born of the marriage of the sun and moon (*Et. Mag.* 768, 1) according to Philochorus, and the Athenians prayed to them *ὑπὲρ γενέτεως παιδῶν*. The Pandia was a moon-festival. According to Pindar (*Schol. Theoc.* ii. 10) men in love prayed to the sun, women to the moon. Of Thessaly naturally we know less, but moon-magic was a Thessalian speciality, and Endymion, the moon's husband, came from thence to Elis (Apollod. i. 7. 5). To come to the Peloponnesus, the worship of Helios and Selene at Gytheium is attested by an inscription (*C.I.G.* 1392). Pausanias found Helios and Pasiphaë at Thalamae. Helios pastured his herds on Thrinakia, which v. Wilamowitz has brilliantly divined to be not Sicily but the three-pronged southern portion of Peloponnesos, which lay so readily to hand. The Arcadians themselves are sometimes *Σεληνῖται*, sometimes *πρωσέληνοι*; and did not Pan Lykaios (long, it may be, before Zeus came there) woo the moon-goddess in a cave, *σπήλαια...καὶ ἄντρα τῶν παλαιοτάτων πρίν καὶ ναούς ἐπινοήσας θεοῖς ἀφοιούντων, καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ μὲν Κουρήτῳ Διόν, ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δὲ Σελήνῃ καὶ Πανὶ Δυκείῳ* (*Porphy. de antr.* 20)? Pan was the sun-god, but no mere impersonation, as his goat-legs show. At Mantinea was the place called *Ηλίον βουμοῖ*; at Sikyon, *behind the Heraion*, were the statues of Pan and Helios. For Elis we need but point to the sagas of Endymion and Augeas. At Olympia he had a common altar with ancient Kronos.

We have arrived thus far then, advancing from different points. Argos-Panoptes-Helios and Io-Selene on one side, Herakles and Hera-Omphale-Hebe-Thrassa on the other—the substantial identity of the two couples is obvious enough. All the sun-heroes have these notes in common—they are unwearied, crafty, they keep flocks and herds, their weapons are bows and arrows, for only in latter days did Herakles get his club. But one objection rises at once, and yet it turns out to be, curiously enough, the clinching argument. Herakles and Omphale represent, we have seen, the *Mutterrecht* stage: if Argos and Io are in any sense sun and moon, how comes it that the sun is master of the moon? He is now, but it seems he was not always. Hesselmeyer, (*Die Pelasgerfrage*, p. 123) has clearly shown that to primitive man the moon was all important: as a calendar maker the lunar year preceded the solar year, and the

moon ruled the lunar year with the sun for consort; the struggle of the sun calendar with the moon calendar has left its trace in many an ancient myth.

A word as to the race to which these sun and moon gods, this gynaecocracy belongs. J. Toepfner (*Attische Genealogie*, p. 187) attributes the gynaecocracy element to the Aeolic race whose mythic ancestor is Aiolas, whose saga has its home at Iolkos (Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 108). According to Apollodorus (i. 9. 11) Kretheus, Aiolas' eldest son, built the town. These Aeolians he regards as the same as the Minyae, and his view is supported by, probably based on, his interpretation of the much-discussed 'Αἰολεῖαι,' who Plutarch says (*Quaest. Gr.* 38) were daughters of Minyas. The Aioleiai unquestionably kept their men much depressed, and if the Aioleiai are to be explained simply as the Aeolian women, undoubtedly it looks as if *Mutterrecht* were an Aeolian custom. Moreover Minyas was *κατὰ μητέρα Αἰολεῖδης*—a fact not without its significance. Toepfner goes further; he sees in the Aeolians, as in the Karians, Lycians (e.g. Sarpedon), and others who practised *Mutterrecht*, a Pelasgian people, and points out that the Etruscans, whom Hesselmeyer believes to be Pelasgic, also gave to women an exceptionally high place. If the Aeolians are Minyae, then the predominance of Hera in the Argonautic myth (*Ηρα Πελασγίς*) is at once explained, and from our point of view it is remarkable that so many sun-heroes claim descent from Aiolas. But on the other hand we are told flatly that the Aeolians are only an Asia Minor form of the Achaeans.<sup>1</sup> If this be true our argument is indeed in a terrible plight. Zeus was unquestionably Achaean, and our whole contention has been that Zeus had nothing to do with Hera till late days, that Hera was pre-Achaean. Strabo certainly does not take the view that Aeolian = Asiatic-Achaean: he says emphatically (v. 220) *τὸν δὲ Πελασγὸν, ὃτι μὲν ἀρχαῖον τι φῦλον κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐπιπόλασεν καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τὸν Αἰολεῖον τοῖς κατὰ Θετταλίαν ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀπαντεῖ σχέδον τι*. Here at least is no talk merely of Asiatic Aeolians.

It is mainly in the hope of getting light from others better furnished than myself on this question, which is vital as regards

<sup>1</sup> W. Leaf, *Companion to the Iliad*, 'we know who the Aioliens were, they were descendants of the Achaeans,' 'the old Achaian families under their new name of Aeolians.' *Introd.* pp. 6 and 9. Mr. Leaf bases his view mainly on Fick, *Die Homerische Ilias*.

mythology, that I have written thus at length. Dr. Waldstein will pardon a reviewer for turning his discoveries into a text, for it is indeed these discoveries that make the question imminent: it may be to his further researches that we shall owe the solution.

JANE E. HARRISON.

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#### EGYPT OR PHOENICIA AT MYKENAE, ETC.

IN the polemic which has recently arisen and threatens to be long-lived about the influence of Egypt upon the Art of the Eastern Mediterranean, one thing has I think been overlooked—namely that that influence was not direct but indirect.

So far as the evidence is available, it points to the Egyptians having had their first direct intercourse with the Greeks in the reign of Psammetichus the First. When we get back to the days of the Middle Empire in the 18th and 19th dynasty I know of no evidence of direct intercourse whatever.

On the other hand the evidence of indirect intercourse, for which there were ample opportunities, seems just as clear. From the reign of Thothmes the First the coasts of Palestine and Syria including the Phoenician towns were more or less subject to the Egyptian kings and they remained so, so far as we know, throughout the domination of the 18th and 19th dynasties.

The Phoenicians were at this time planting their colonies and pushing their trade in all directions, and every corner of the Greek world where minerals could be found, where dye stuffs could be had or where merchandise could be got was planted with a factory. Autolycus and all his brethren, the pedlars, the dealers in trinkets and jewellery, etc. etc., in the Homeric age and doubtless long before, were Phoenicians. It seems to me that the primitive jewellery which has occurred in more than one site in Greece—and notably the very interesting and unique objects not long ago added to the British Museum collection—were made and imported by the Phoenicians. At all events these last objects, which came from Greece proper, are not only like other objects from Mykenae but like the jewellery from Tarros in Sardinia which could hardly be of other than Phoenician origin.

This is not the conclusion however which I now wish to press. What I wish to em-

phasize is that these same Phoenicians, who were then subject to the Egyptians and whose Art was at one time a reflex of Egyptian taste and at another of the taste of Assyria, were exceedingly likely among other objects to export scarabs containing the cartouches of their masters the great Pharaohs, such as Thothmes the Third and Amenophis the Third and Fourth, and sometimes these travelled a long way, as when one found its way to Hungary and was found with a *trouvaile* of the so-called Bronze Age. With these true scarabs were also exported what I call bastard scarabs some containing blundered legends others containing posthumous inscriptions. These were doubtless the handiwork of Phoenician potters. It was Phoenicia and not Egypt which was the real mother of what is called Mykenae art.

HENNY H. HOWORTH.

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#### ARTEMIS AT EPHESUS.

IN his volume on Ephesus, Mr. Hicks publishes an inscription, no. 482, dated about A.D. 161, to which the reading suggested by him would, if correct, lend far greater interest than it had in previous publications. According to him 'the decree itself begins by complaining that the Ephesian goddess, whose worship had hitherto been universally recognised, was now being set at nought,' and he would interpret it as 'an involuntary confession of the decline of the Artemis worship.' Such an inscription is very remarkable; but it requires careful scrutiny. In my forthcoming work, *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*, I have occasion to use the inscription, or rather to state that it cannot be accepted as evidence in the way that the editor has suggested. As I have not there the opportunity of giving reasons in full on a point of textual criticism, I should gladly do so in the *Classical Review*. Respect for the high authority of Mr. Hicks, and gratitude for the amount that I have learned from his work, makes me unwilling to alter his text without stating the arguments for the change. Some of the changes which he has introduced make a great improvement; but others seem to be only a step towards the truth.

The opening seems suspicious. We can hardly imagine the possibility of a community devoted to Artemis beginning a decree in her honour with the ill-omened

confession, 'since Artemis is dishonoured, not only in her own home, but also among Greeks and barbarians': the more we think of this, the more incredible does it appear. Moreover the words that follow, *ώστε ἀνέισθαι αὐτῆς ιερά τε καὶ τιμάς*, can hardly be interpreted in conformity with Mr. Hicks's views: he takes them, I presume, to mean 'so that her temples and honours are neglected,' for no other sense will suit his interpretation of the general purport of the inscription. But, even allowing that *ἀνέιναι τιμάς* might denote 'to relax and neglect the honours paid to Artemis,' *ἀνέιναι ιερά* could only mean 'to consecrate shrines.'

Again Mr. Hicks is obliged to read *βωμούς [αὐτῇ ἀνακεῖσθαι]* in order to suit his restoration of the preceding line, for (1) it would make impossible syntax to read [*ἀξία δέ ἐστιν (Artemis understood)*] *αὐτῇ τε εἰδρύσθαι καὶ βωμούς [ἀνακεῖσθαι διὰ] τὰς κ.τ.λ.*; and (2) the length of his restoration in l. 12 requires an additional word in l. 13. But he has either not observed that numerous previous copyists, confirmed by the high authority of M. Waddington, who saw the stone when it was more nearly complete, read on the stone the words *βωμούς ἀνακεῖσθαι* without any gap between them, or, if he has observed it, he has tacitly corrected their reading. Such conjectural alteration of a reading attested by numerous witnesses is hardly permissible.

Further, even with his restoration, the syntax [*ἀξία δέ ἐστιν*] *αὐτῇ τε εἰδρύσθαι καὶ βωμούς [αὐτῇ ἀνακεῖσθαι]* is too harsh to justify the emendation on the text as read by others before it was mutilated.

I cannot therefore agree with the bold restoration proposed by the editor in this case. Yet the word *ἀγμάται* must be accepted on his authority in place of the older reading *τιμάται*; and he repeats in his *Addenda* the assurance that this reading is on the stone. I can only suppose that the engraver omitted a syllable: he ought to have engraved *ΙΔΙΑΙΑΤΙ*, and he put *ΙΔΙΑΤΙ*. Thus we have the text, *ἐπειδὴ γέ.....Ἀρτεμις οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῆς πατρὶδι <δὲ> αγμάται*. In l. 11, Mr. Hicks's reading seems a great improvement on the old text; but in l. 12, I must again desert him. Thus we have in l. 11-13, [*ώστε πανταχοῦ ἀνέισθαι αὐτῆς ιερά τε καὶ τιμένη, καὶ*] *αὐτῇ τε εἰδρύσθαι, καὶ βωμούς ἀνακεῖσθαι κ.τ.λ.*

The inscription attests, not neglect of Artemis worship, but a revival of religious feeling. Many other facts point to such a revival of paganism at this period, and its

alliance with the Imperial policy, with popular philosophy, and with the whole strength of conservatism, against the reforming tendency of which by far the strongest, but not the only, champion was Christianity.

W. M. RAMSAY.

#### ON MR. WROTH'S REVIEW OF RIDGEWAY'S METALLIC CURRENCY.

MAY I intrude on your space to say a few words in reference to Mr. Wroth's most kind and generous review of my book? Mr. Wroth refuses to admit, if I understand him rightly, any origin for any coin-type other than religious, thus championing the views of Burges, Curtius, Head and Gardner. I shall first deal with his criticisms on my explanation of certain types *seriatim*, and then with the general principles which lie at the bottom of the question.

(1) To my view that the occurrence of the ox on early Greek coins (which is supported by ancient tradition both in Greece and Italy) indicates that the oldest *pecunia* was *pecus*, Mr. Wroth objects that the 'lion is quite as often portrayed on archaic coins as the ox or cow.' This I fully admit, but I have given an explanation of the lion-type and its diffusion at p. 321 of my book, showing that it was most probably not a solar symbol, but simply the badge of royalty used by the Lydian kings, and I quoted in support of this the oldest known inscribed Greek coin, the stag on which is made to say, *Φάρος εἴμι σῆμα*. I also show that the lion-type was copied and diversified by the Greeks in various places as far as Massalia in Gaul. Is Mr. Wroth prepared to show that the lion on the coins of the Phocaean colony of Velia is solar, or that the Massaliotes worshipped the sun because they placed a lion on their coins, or again that the barbarians of Northern Italy who placed a lion on their coins imitated from the Massaliote drachms did so because they worshipped the sun? The Massaliotes worshipped Artemis, as we have full historic proof, and her head appears on their coins, and surely if the lion ought to symbolize any deity, it ought to indicate Artemis. Yet I do not think any one will say that the lion is a symbol of that goddess. Again when we find a lion and a palm-tree on the coins of Carthage, if we say that the lion looking at a star on the coins of Miletus represents the sun, we ought to say

that the lion at Carthage represents the tree-spirit, indwelling in the palm-tree. Is it not more reasonable to suppose that lion and palm-tree are taken simply as the badge of Lybia, the land of lions and palms, just as Africa is symbolized on Roman coins by a corn-basket, a scorpion, and a cap made of an elephant's trunk? (2) Animal-types are undoubtedly common on early Greek coins, but when once coinage had begun, analogy would soon lead to putting on coins other animals as well as the ox of barter, and no doubt both states and potentates would in many cases put on their issues their own peculiar blazon, as did Phanes. Thus Phocaea used her badge of the seal as a type, and I am not aware that any one has ever suggested that this type indicated the worship of Proteus.

Mr. Wroth and his school admit, I believe, a certain number of *types parlants*. If the mythological type theory does not explain these, there is no reason why there should not be a class of types which have their origin in barter-units. Mr. Wroth also urges that animals are very common on Greek works of art. Of course they are. But this cuts equally against Mr. Wroth, unless he is prepared to say that whenever an animal appears in Greek art it symbolizes some cult.

Mr. Wroth thinks that because there is a triskelis of cock's combs on reverse of a Lycian coin bearing a boar, that this boar cannot have once symbolized a barter-unit. This does not at all follow, for the mythological school themselves are obliged to admit the occurrence on the same coins of symbols which are referred to two different deities.

(3) The axe of Tenedos Mr. Wroth maintains is religious, although Aristotle distinctly indicates that it had no such significance in his time (350 B.C.). Yet if the axe had reference to some sacred cult, priestly tradition would have kept fresh the knowledge of its origin. Mr. Wroth points out triumphantly that though the Janiform head appears on the oldest coins, the axe is not found. It is true that as yet the oldest known coins have not the axe, but though we may any day find a more archaic coin with the axe, I will let Mr. Wroth use his negative evidence to the full. He shrinks from committing himself to the view that the Janiform head is a dimorphous Bacchus. For what has Bacchus to do with an axe? On the other hand the explanation suggested by a passage of Pausanias, given in full in my book (p. 318), is that the double head represents King Tennes and his sister. It

is quite possible that the common badge of Tenedos was this double head, based on an old legend, and that it was placed on their early coins as Phanes placed his badge on his. But unless Mr. Wroth puts a very long interval between the coins with the incuse reverse and those with the axe, the old traditional currency would not have died out, and when they proceed to adorn the reverse of the coins, they put on the axe, which the silver coins had superseded. Athens must have been accustomed to the silver currency of Aegina and Euboea for a century before the time of Solon, and yet Solon settled her classification by measures of corn, wine or oil, and not drachms, and when he struck his new coinage, made the drachm equal the mediunus and sheep.

Again, Mr. Wroth leaves out of view completely the dedication of axes by the Tenedians at Delphi. At p. 318 I compare with them the dedication of the golden wheat-ear by the Metapontines, which we know was not a religious symbol of Apollo, but simply a thankoffering for an abundant harvest. The Indians of the Pacific states still use the ancient shell money when they make dedications at the graves of their great chiefs, although daily using silver dollars. The Tenedians offered their axes because such were their ancient currency.

(4) Mr. Wroth makes virtually the same objection to my explanation of the wine-jar on the coins of Chios as he has put forward in the case of Tenedos. He says that as the Sphinx appears along with the jar on the early coins, and the Sphinx alone on the earliest, I must be wrong. My answer is the same as before. The Sphinx is the badge of Chios, just as little religious as the stag on the coin of Phanes, and the wine-jar is put on the coins at a time when the jar in trade was perfectly well known. Long after they coined money, the Cyrenaicans exchanged bales of silphium for jars of wine, and the Gauls sold slaves for the same commodity. Can Mr. Wroth point out any connection between the Sphinx and Bacchic rites?

(5) Mr. Wroth objects on the same grounds to my explanation of the wine-cup on the coins of Thasos, because in the earliest coins we find Silenus carrying off a nymph. I do not think that this is such a roundabout way of 'advertising wine,' as it would be of symbolizing 'the orgiastic rites of the Thracian Bacchus.' Silenus is not Bacchus, and Mr. Wroth ought to show that the worship of Silenus was the foremost cult of Thasos.

The ithyphallic Silenus and nymph illustrate in part the description of strong drink given by the Porter in *Macbeth*. But even if this type does not represent merely wine trade, I give the same answer as I did in the case of the wine-jar of Chios.

(6) Now for the tunny fish of Cyzicus, which Mr. Wroth has handled with the most delightful humour. He thinks the fact that on one coin a tunny is seen *filleted* is sufficient to prove that it is a sacred symbol. I cheerfully accept his idea that the tunny so equipped is dedicated, but is it as first-fruits, or as a sacred symbol of some deity? I gave a passage showing that the fishermen gave firstfruits of the tunny fishery, just as the fishermen on the coast of Ceylon now do to their temple, and those of Western Ireland do to their priest for saying mass before they put to sea. But who will say that the fish in either of these cases symbolizes the deity worshipped? It is impossible to discuss these tunny without reference to the *ἴεπός λχθύς* in *Iliad* xvi. 407. The fisherman has no hesitation in catching such a creature, and the explanations which agree in regarding *ἴεπός* as meaning simply 'fine, goodly, without blemish' seem right. The Cyzicene fishers gave a good fish as an offering, and we need not be surprised to find on one coin the dedicated tunny portrayed, for this represented the finest specimen of the staple product of the place. Mr. Wroth has left out of view the fish-shaped coins of Olbia, without which the question cannot be discussed.

But now comes the wider question. Let us grant that the wine vessels symbolize the worship of Dionysus, and tunny and axe some unknown divinities. Are Mr. Wroth and his school better off than before? Did the use of wine originate in the worship of Bacchus, or did the worship of Bacchus originate in the use of wine? Did the use of wheat and barley spring out of the cultus of Demeter, or did the latter originate in the use of cereals? Everything tends more and more to show that the particular deity is only an adjunct to some very important side of life. Until there is much evidence to the contrary it is much more rational to believe that the wine-jar or bunch of grapes indicates the principal product of a place, rather than a mere religious cult. The hare on the coins of Messana, says Aristotle, was put on his coins by Anaxilas to commemorate the introduction of the hare into Sicily. Had it not been for the preservation of this statement we should

be called upon to believe that the hare is the symbol of the cult of Pan, because on one late tetradrachm Pan is seen with the hare. Let us now ask Mr. Wroth and his school to show any ancient authority for the doctrine to which they adhere. Distinguished scholars support it, it is true, but I prefer to stand by Aristotle, who says the stamp was the symbol of value, and who in the case of the axe of Tenedos, the mule-car and hare of Rhegium, knows nothing of a mystical religious explanation.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

PROFESSOR RIDGEWAY'S reply of 'few words' extends to such length that my comments are necessarily restricted. The main point that I criticized in my review of his brilliant book was his theory that barter-units are represented on the earliest Greek money. Mr. Ridgeway essayed to prove (p. 315) that primitive barter-units were reproduced as 'types' 'on the most archaic coins...which date from a time when barter was just being replaced by a monetary currency.' As crucial tests of this novel theory I examined four of Mr. Ridgeway's best examples, namely the double-axe of Tenedos, the wine-jar of Chios, the wine-cup of Thasos, and the tunny of Cyzicus. I was able to show (i) that the earliest coin-type of Tenedos was not a double-axe but a janiform head, (ii) that the earliest coin-type of Chios was not a wine-jar but a Sphinx, (iii) that the wine-cup of Thasos appeared only on the later coinage of that island, (iv) that the tunny on the earliest coins of Cyzicus was not a mere barter-fish but a fish dedicated to a divinity. At all these points the theory gave way.

Mr. Ridgeway now seeks to raise the whole question of the meaning of Greek coin-types. He is good enough to speak of me as 'championing' the 'religious' doctrine of types, but though I certainly am a firm believer in that doctrine, I made no attempt in my review to set forth its merits, for the good reason that this had been done already by much doughtier champions—by Thomas Burgon in his learned and minute *Inquiry*, by Prof. Gardner in his *Types of Greek Coins*, and by Mr. Barclay Head in his *Historia Numorum*. The 'religious' doctrine is not only held by English numismatists, but by such continental savants as Imhoof-Blumer, J. P. Six, Von Sallet, and Babelon. In fact, there is no Greek numismatist of repute who holds any other doctrine. Mr. Ridgeway, however, thinks

that the orthodox view can be discussed and discredited in a few paragraphs of a reply to a review. It is clear to me both from his book and his article that he does not fully understand the nature of his opponents' position and that he underrates its strength. This I gather partly from the way in which he refers to *types parlants*, and from his parading the exploded theory that such types as the wine-jar and the bunch of grapes indicate 'the principal product' of a place rather than (as he expresses it) a 'mere religious cult.' He also uses arguments that show that he does not bear in mind that the 'religious' school admits as types not only the symbols of divinities, but also any devices connected in any way with cultus, legend and myth.

(1) In his first section Mr. Ridgeway hardly does justice to my argument. He had suggested that there was a special (commercial) significance in the choice of the ox as a coin-type. My remarks were intended as a warning against the arbitrary selection of coin-types to suit a theory. Oxen and cows (I said) often appear on early Greek coins but so also do many other animals. The ox and the cow have nothing like a monopoly of archaic coin-types. In fact the lion (which even Mr. Ridgeway does not explain as a barter-unit) is quite as often portrayed on early coins as the ox. The word 'lion' suggests to Mr. Ridgeway a dissertation on the meaning of that animal as a coin-type. Surely this is hardly relevant to our discussion of the barter-unit. All that I feel called upon to say here is that before Mr. Ridgeway can claim the support of the Φάνος coin, he must discuss critically the more or less divergent views concerning it of Newton, Gardner, Head, Fränkel, and Weil.

(2) I did not refuse to accept the boar as a barter-unit for the weak reason that a triskelis of cocks' heads appeared on the same coin. What I said was—it is unsafe to attach special significance to one animal (the boar) on Lycian coinage, because that coinage is conspicuous for the variety of its animal and monstrous types.

(3) I still maintain that the double-axe is a Dionysiac emblem. As Mr. Ridgeway asks 'What has Bacchus to do with an axe?'—I may remind him that Simonides (*ap. Athen.* 10, 84) calls the axe Διωνύσου ἀνάκτος βούφόνον θεράποντα, and further that the double-axe (*πέλεκυς*) appears on coins of Alexander of Pherae, a prince who, according to Theopompos, specially worshipped the Dionysos of Pagasae, ὃς ἐκαλέστο Πέλεκυς.

Aristotle explained the Tenedian coin-type as the axe which executed sinners in the good old days in Tenedos. This explanation (as well as Aristotle's explanation of Messenian coin-types) is not supported by the analogy of other Greek coin-types, and Aristotle is moreover writing of coins issued more than a hundred years before his time. Mr. Ridgeway in his *Metallic Currency* (p. 318) had in fact already remarked that Aristotle's explanation of the axe is 'probably a bit of mere aetiology.' I quite agree with him, but what—after that admission—is the value of Aristotle's testimony? The dedication of the Tenedian axes cannot be profitably discussed without reference to other Delphic dedications. If there were an opportunity for the discussion I should refer not only (as Mr. Ridgeway requires) to the dedication of the Metapontines but to several other ἀναθήματα such as those of the people of Selinus and of Elyrus.

(6) Mr. Ridgeway accepts my view that the 'filleted' tunny was dedicated to a divinity. The fish-shaped pieces of Olbia I purposely refrained from discussing. It is not quite certain that they are coins—even if they are, they are pieces quite exceptional in Greek numismatics and were made three or four centuries after the 'barter-unit' coins now in question.

Of Aristotle's testimony respecting coin-types I have already spoken, and, in conclusion, I will only remark that the specimen with Pan and the hare described by Mr. Ridgeway as a 'late' tetradrachm is really a product of the finest period of Greek coin-art, issued about fifteen years before Aristotle was born.

WARRICK WROTH.

#### INSCRIPTIONS ON POTTERY FROM NAUKRATIS.

A FURTHER examination of the fragments of pottery (now in the British Museum) found at Naukratis in the excavations of 1886 has brought to light the following inscriptions which may be added to those published by Mr. Ernest Gardner in the Third and Sixth *Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, entitled *Naukratis*, Parts I—II.

I. Ἀντιώ<sup>της</sup> ὁ Χίος [<sup>της</sup> ἀνέθη]κεν Ἀφροδίτη<sup>γ</sup>  
On a fragment of a lebes without figured decoration. In the first word the space between ω and γ is determined by the curve of

the vase, but there are no data for supplying the missing letter. Another fragment gives ...ης ὁ Χῖος and two or three ...ων ὁ Χῖος.

II. Πρωτογέ | νης με ἀνέθηκεν τ[η]λλαφροδ[ι]ος  
Ἐρμογέ | [ίτη εὐχωλήν] τ[η]λλαφροδ[ι]ος

The decoration of this fragment consists of concentric bands and radiating leaf points in bright red. The inscription runs round the base in a spiral, forming a double line for about half its extent. Any name ending in -ης would be suitable; for εὐχωλήν cf. *Naukratis* ii. p. 65, nos. 776, 7. Of the first letter of Ρόδος only the top remains, but as it indicates a P and as there is space for 3 missing letters, this restoration (suggested by Mr. A. H. Smith) seems satisfactory. Mr. Gardner (*Naukratis* ii. p. 65) remarked on the use of εὐχωλή (for εὐχή) in some of those inscriptions and gave several references. To these may be added an epigram (*Anth. Graec.* vi. 137) to which Mr. Murray has called my attention :

Πρόφρων, Ἀργυρότεξ, δίδου χάριν Αἰσχύλου  
νιᾶς  
Ναυκράτει, εὐχωλὰς τάσδ' ὑποδεξάμενος.

III. Νεγοφ[άνης μ' ἀ]νέθηκε

On the rim of a lebes of coarse pottery.

For the form cf. Ἐρμοφάνης (*Naukratis* ii. 65, no. 784). Another fragment gives -οφα-. Mr. Gardner gives the name Νεγομάνδρος (*Naukratis* ii. 65, no. 768).

IV. -η εἰμι τῆς [ἐν Ναυ]κράτει

On a fragment with guilloche pattern as in *Naukratis* ii. plate v. fig. 7, combined with a floral pattern as in the upper part of the bowl (*Ibid.* plate 7, fig. 5). If the suggested restoration is correct, this is an addition to the very small number of extant vase inscriptions which give the name of the city.

V. Another fragment of the inscription in *Naukratis* ii. 63, no. 709

(-ος μ' ἀνέθηκε τῆς [Ἀφροδίτης] ἐπὶ τῇ)

The new fragment bears the letters ιτη, and considerations connected with the shape, design, etc., of the vase suggest that -ιτη<sup>(αι)</sup>ος is required. Possibly we should read -ιτη<sup>(αι)</sup>ος μ' ἀνέθηκε τῆς [Ἀφροδίτης] ἐπὶ τῇ..... The form of the inscription is in any case unusual.

C. A. HUTTON.

## MONTHLY RECORD.

### GREAT BRITAIN.

*Lincoln*.—A fragment of an amphora-handle which has been recently found is of some interest as bearing the potter's stamp L IVNI MELISSI. While hardly any other potter's name occurs in Britain, Hübner, in the *C.I.L.* Vol. vii., gives six other instances of Melissus, two at York, two in London, and one each at Silchester and Chesterford. In all cases but the last the name is given as L. Junius Melissus. At Chesterford however (see *Archaeol. Journal*, xvii. p. 124) the stamp is I. CAMILLI MELISSI, a name which Hübner gives as found in the heap of broken pottery on the Monte Testaccio, Rome.<sup>1</sup>

### ITALY.

*Quaderna, Emilia*.—The site of the ancient Claterna, mentioned by Cicero and other writers, has been settled by continued excavations. The first discovery was that of four bases of columns forming a square, evidently a Corinthian atrium with a column at each corner of the impluvium. Remains of a street running north and south were discovered, and various objects: blocks of tufa and marble, remains of a seated female statue, two drums of a spiral column of *giallo antico*, a fragment of marble with inscription, a fine female headless bronze bust, probably representing Diana, and numerous architectural fragments. Further excavation brought to light considerable remains of a private edifice, with mosaic pavements, slabs prepared for *opus spicatum*, and quadrangular basins of tufa, two of which are apparently *impluvia*. The plan of the house could not be ascertained. Fragments of Arretine vases were found, lamps, tiles (one of the date of the early Empire, stamped with the name Agrippa), and a fountain-basin with connecting pipe. Later still, various fragments of terra-cotta, which when put together made an almost complete statuette of Cupid, apparently part of a group. Other objects found were bronze fibulae, rings, etc., glass phialae, bone objects, and coins, principally of *gentes*.<sup>2</sup>

*Novilara*.—Seventy-five graves have been found, dug close to each other, with remains of skeletons and bits of wood, the corpses having probably been interred simply reposing on wooden planks, without any covering. In the same graves were found vases of Greek shape and many ornaments and arms of bronze. Other tombs were discovered lately containing feminine ornaments and other objects, belonging to the seventh century B.C. In one tomb was found a fragment of a stele inscribed with Sabellian characters.<sup>3</sup>

*Corneto*.—Excavations have been continued in the necropolis of Tarquinii, and nine tombs investigated with fruitful results. In the first were nineteen bucchero vases and nine painted Greek vases, eight with geometric ornaments; four are small oinochoae with trefoil mouth. (2) Fragments of an Attic black-figure vase (shape as *Berlin Catalogue*, plate iv., fig. 24), representing a symposium, four men on couches, and three female figures. (3) Two scarabs of advanced archaic style, and a gold earring; the first scarab is a cornelian with finely executed design of Odysseus slaying the stag in Circe's isle (*Od.* x. 157), inscribed ΩΙΒΟΥ; the other an onyx with design of a youth stringing a bow. (4 and 5) Bucchero vases and three lekythi, one Corinthian,

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, 15 Oct. 1892.

<sup>2</sup> *Notizie dei Lincei*, May 1892.

<sup>3</sup> *Athenaeum*, 17 and 31 Dec. 1892.

with three friezes of animals. (6) Bronze ornaments for a helmet, one representing the head of a Seilenos, the other of Acheloös, also a red-figured amphora with somewhat grotesque figures. (7) A kylix with animals, a small oinochoe, and a Corinthian skyphos with animals. (8) Three black-figured amphorae, with various subjects, one the reception of Herakles by Pholos. (9) Three black-figured amphorae, one with the return of Hephaistos to Olympos, another with various deities and a quadriga.<sup>2</sup>

*Rome.*—In Reg. vi. an inscription has been found with dedication to one L. Vibius Lupus Iulianus, praetor, quaestor, and *legatus* in Lycia and Pamphylia. A Vibius Lupus was *legatus* in Britain in 197, and another was consul in 278, but it is not certain whether either of these is meant. Two other interesting inscribed stones come from the right bank of the Tiber. The first is a travertine cippus of 54 B.C., erected by P. Servilius Isauricus and M. Valerius Messala, censor (cf. C.I.L. vi. 1234). The other is a marble sepulchral cippus with a patera on one side and a *praeficulum* on the other. It runs: DIS · MANIBVS | SACRYM | CORNELIAE · Q' L | PSYCHES | SER · MARITIVS | MARTIALIS · ET | SPATALVS · Q · CORNELI | FLACCI | DISP | CONIVGI | FIDELISSIMAE | FECERVNT. Spatalus, the second husband, was *dispensator* in the house of Q. Cornelius Flaccus; this may be the one mentioned in Tac. Ann. xiii. 39 (58 B.C.), or another mentioned in Bull. Inst. 1845, p. 129. Cf. C.I.L. vi. 24957.<sup>2</sup>

Near S. Maria in Cosmedin have been found remains of a very ancient cloaca constructed of blocks of tufa, dating back to the time of the Kings. It consists of two large arched drains, with two smaller ones meeting them: the two larger meet at an angle and fall into the Tiber near the site of the Pons Sublicius. It was independent of the Cloaca Maxima, and drained the Circus Maximus, and Velabrum. On the left bank of the Tiber the foundations of the Pons Aelius for about thirty metres have been brought to light; they are of travertine carefully worked; remains of two small flood-arches were also found, with massive substructures of peperino, from which it has been ascertained that the bridge had eight arches. Among sculptures found at the same time were several colossal heads, probably belonging to the Mausoleum of Hadrian, a head of a goddess, and a Roman portrait male head with a small beard, probably Aelius Caesar; fragments of a colossal mask of the usual Satyric type, perhaps an antefix; all are of Greek marble, and in good Graeco-Roman style, probably of the time of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius.<sup>4</sup>

In the Campidoglio have been discovered: an inscription dedicated to Dius Sabazios; a fragment of a marble group of Hercules and the Nemean lion; a fragment of an Egyptian statue in basalt; a statuette, probably of Aesculapius; some heads of statues: one Greek and several Latin inscriptions, one of which is put up to a local divinity by the college of the Velabrenses.<sup>5</sup>

*Ostia.*—An important inscription has been discovered, which runs as follows: I...MVS · PLOTIVS · M · F · QVARTIO | A · GENVCIVS · A · F · ITEB · DVO · VIRI | LOCVM · DEDERUNT · COMITI · AEDIFICANDI | C · CARTILIVS · C · F · POPLICOL · DVO · VIR · VII | CENS · III · COMPITVM · TRANSTVLIT | D · CAECILIVS · D · D · L · NICIA · MEDICIVS | L · MARCVS | L · STEPHANVS | P · NAEIVVS · P · L · HERACLIDA | MAG · VICI · MACERIEM | ET · COLVMNAM · DE · SVO · FECERVNT | C · CARTILIVS · C · L · HERA..... The end is lost. This would be of

much importance for local topography if the surrounding area could be explored, but the vicinity of the Tiber prevents this. The expression *Magistri vici* is new at Ostia. The temple of Vulcan here has been shown to belong to the time of Hadrian, by the resemblance of the architecture to that of certain *horrea* built in his time.<sup>2</sup>

*Naples.*—An interesting marble term has been found, forming the column of an arch; it represents a bearded mature figure, with flowing hair bound by a fillet. Three similar terms exist in the Capitoline Museum, and one at Naples. The type is attributed by Wolters (*Jahrbuch*, 1890, p. 213) to Hesiod, cf. the busts of him in a mosaic pavement (*Antike Denkm.* I. (1889), pl. 49). It also resembles the Homer on the coins of Amnastis, and may be equally well one or the other. The term stands on an Attic base, and supports a capital with foliage and abacus; the execution is moderate, and of the Roman period. Remains of two large marble pedestals with reliefs, a niche, and a marble pavement have been found, apparently forming part of a fountain. On one pedestal is an inscription to Anicius Auchenius Bassus, who was proconsul of Campania about A.D. 380. Another discovery is that of a sepulchral bas-relief, representing a farewell scene: a veiled female figure with a nude infant by her side, taking the hand of a seated youth. The style is very rude. Below is inscribed ΠΑΚΚΙ · ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΝ; at the back, ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤ[Η] ΗΑΘΗΝΑC · ΙΗΡΗΑ ΣΙΚΕΛΗC ΥΠΟ ΣΥΝΚΑΗΤΟ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗ.<sup>2</sup>

*Pompeii.*—A house of considerable extent has lately been excavated, with sides of three streets, consisting of atrium, garden with peristyle, various side-rooms, and an unfinished series of bath-rooms. The atrium has four columns, twenty-four feet high, with elaborate Corinthian capitals. The peristyle is well preserved, and on one column is a graffiti inscription of 60 B.C. In the garden are earthenware figures of two crocodiles, a frog, and a toad. Bronze ornaments were found, 6 in. in length, of the shape of a ship's beak, the head of a crocodile forming the central part; they were probably used as ornamental hooks on the walls of the atrium. Also a water-spout in bronze, in the shape of a boar's head, of excellent workmanship, and some interesting frescoes, parts very well preserved.<sup>6</sup>

#### GREECE.

*Athens.*—The excavations between the Areopagus and the Pnyx have been renewed, and the course of the ancient street leading up to the Acropolis, further to the south-east, has been pursued. It is lined on both sides with ancient buildings, of which some still possess the original *θρόνοι*, so that much may be hoped from them for fixing topography. A small temple with an altar before it was unearthed, also the columns of a λέσχη, and the wall of a small house with the inscription ὅποις οἰκίας ἐποκεμένης Ἀλιάσιος ή, η.<sup>7</sup> Votive reliefs have been found, which indicate the proximity of a shrine of Asklepios; and a chamber in a house which was at first thought to be a reservoir, but can only have been used in later times for that purpose. The ancient wall which flanks the road near this spot has an opening in the middle which seems to have been the entrance to this house. Dr. Dörpfeld has also found some hydriae, a terra-cotta female head, a small Doric

<sup>4</sup> *Bull. Comm. Arch.* July—Sept. 1892.

<sup>5</sup> *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, Oct.—Nov. 1892.

<sup>6</sup> *Athenaeum*, 12 Nov. 1892.

<sup>7</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 24 Dec. 1892.

capital of poros-stone, and a relief of a woman with an infant at her breast. The road unearthed is without doubt that leading from the Kerameikos and the Agora up to the Acropolis, along which the Panathenaic procession passed.<sup>8</sup> Further excavations have brought to light, between the Pnyx and the Areopagus, two very ancient tombs, the smaller one containing two Mycenaean vases, the larger, charcoal mixed with bones, which fact shows that the corpse must have been burnt within the tomb. These burials Dr. Dörpfeld attributes to the first inhabitants of Athens, when, like Mycenae and other places, it was bounded by the rock of the Acropolis and had a burying-place just outside the walls. A conduit has been found consisting of terra-cotta tubes, the joints secured with lead; it led to the channel of poros-stone made by Peisistratos, and discovered a short time ago.<sup>9</sup>

*Piraeus.*—Parts of four sepulchral stelae with reliefs have been found. On the first is a draped youth, on the second a female figure standing, with a boy on the r.; the third is a small cylindrical stele inscribed Εὐθέλεια Ζωπύρον Θεσσαλονίκης θυγατῆρ. On the fourth is a female head, and the inscription Ζωσιμη Ζωήλου Οηδεν Φίλωνος Οηδεν γυνή.<sup>10</sup>

*Corinth.*—The excavations by the Athenian Archaeological Society have resulted in the discovery of a considerable building belonging to the 6th or 5th century B.C. It resembles the Theokoleon of Olympia where the sacred magistrates of the Eleans dwelt. Near this building two others were found, which have not as yet been completely cleared out. One is of enormous size, the remains of the columns showing a diameter of more than two metres. Several terra-cotta figurines of good period also came to light. Further investigation has shown that the walling of a large number of buildings has been preserved up to an unusual height owing to the fact that the ground is much higher than it was in ancient times. A house of good Hellenic period has been found, with pavement and stylobate of the atrium entire. It was covered by a Byzantine building, owing to which many architectural features have been preserved.<sup>11</sup>

*Epidaurus.*—The Roman-roofed theatre which existed in the courtyard of the gymnasium has been almost wholly cleared. A large building situated between this gymnasium and the temple of Artemis has also been disinterred, and was found to possess a vast atrium with stone seats, as well as a large hall with two aisles, several rooms, and some bath-chambers. The north-east portion of the precinct sacred to Asklepios has all been brought to light, and has revealed some new exedrae, bases of statues, and of votive offerings, and also the foundations of a building of unknown destination.<sup>12</sup>

H. B. WALTERS.

*Athenische Mittheilungen.* 1892, part 1. Athens.  
1. Wolters; studies a series of representations of Asklepios found at Epidaurus, in connection with the Blacas head in the B. M. and an unpublished torso from the Piraeus: he finds traces of the influence of Praxiteles (in the 'pathetic' type of the Blacas head &c.) and of Skopas (in the Munychia torso): three plates. 2. Buresch; an account of his researches at

the cave of the Sibyl of Erythrae, found in the summer of 1891: publishing the nine inscriptions from this site (cf. S. Reinach in the *Rev. des Et. Gr.* iv. p. 276). 3. Sauer; early marble work of Naxos; of Naxian art we have scarcely any notice in literature, but considerable monumental evidence; recognizable partly from the cross-grained Naxian marble, and which he here collects and examines in detail, noting certain chronological developments of style: from inscriptions and historical facts we obtain a date for the works of the earlier type before 540, for the latest, about 510 B.C.: after this very little is heard of it: plate and cuts. 4. Graef; publishes a photograph of the sepulchral monument from Bithynia (cf. *Ath. Mitt.* iv. 18), and another inscription from the same neighbourhood. 5. Kretschmer; two inscriptions from Balanaia. 6. Report of discoveries, by W. D.: the ancient road between the Areopagus and Pnyx; the Enneakrounos; Daphni; Mycenae; Katsingri (not the old Midea, but a small fort of Greek times); Palaeokestria (the true Midea); Epidavros; Sikyon; Argos; Megalopolis (further researches have satisfactorily disposed of the theory of the British School that there was a Greek logion here).

C. S.

*The same.* 1892, part 2.

1. Kalinka; publishes a Boeotian vase inscribed with an alphabet, with suggestions as to the history of the alphabet: plate. 2. Kern; the type of the cult statues of the goddesses of Eleusis, which Gerhard sought to determine, is now recognizable by the help of the excavations at Eleusis; it is found on the fragment of a Panathenaic vase and several reliefs there; also in some localities outside Attika where the Eleusinian cult had taken root: it represents Demeter seated on a round seat and Kora standing beside her with a torch in each hand: the round seat is really the cista mystica. The Iakehos child is not included in the group, nor has any figure of him been found at Eleusis; he was made prominent by his share in Salamis (Herod. viii. 65) just as Pan had been at Marathon; but his feast was chiefly national rather than religious: ten cuts. 3. Wackerbarth; philological notes on the Teos inscription, *Ath. Mitt.* xvi. 291: 4. Dragoumous; of Leschaei in general, and of the Lesche of which Dörpfeld has recently found the boundary stelae. 5. Möllmensen; publishes a fragmentary inscription found at Gytheion, which proves to be the preamble of the Edict of Diocletian. 6. Dörpfeld; publishes his well-known views as to the earlier Parthenon; Penrose (*J.H.S.* 1891, p. 275) reverts to his former views that on the great substructure of the Parthenon a smaller temple originally stood, to which are to be assigned the portions of Doric architecture of the northern wall of the acropolis. D.'s object is to show (i.) that in view of the new finds this theory is untenable, and (ii.) what was the aspect of the earlier Parthenon and when it was built: two plates, cuts. 7. Wilhelm; notes on some Greek inscriptions. 8. Ziehen; on the position of the shrine of Asklepios at Trikka. 9. Tsakuroglou; three inscriptions from Maenia. 10. Wolters; two inscriptions from Perinthos.

C. S.

*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.* January—March 1892. Athens and Paris.

1. Cousin; publishes a series of inscriptions found in 1884—9 by successive members of the French School at the foot of a large wall at Oenoanda; they form parts of three long letters written by a certain philosopher Diogenes to his friend Antipatros, to his mother, and to 'young people,' commencing *& νιοι*.

<sup>8</sup> *Athenaeum*, 31 Dec. 1892.

<sup>9</sup> *Athenaeum*, 14 Jan. 1893.

<sup>10</sup> *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 26 Nov. 1892.

<sup>11</sup> *Athenaeum*, 26 Nov. and 24 Dec. 1892.

<sup>12</sup> *Athenaeum*, 24 Dec. 1892.

Diogenes is not otherwise known; M. Cousin suggests that there may have been, under the Empire, a school of philosophy at Rhodes and that, Diogenes having taught there, his fellow-citizens had inscribed on a stoa (which itself may have been due to the generosity of his family) a *résumé* of his doctrine. 2. Néroutsos; two inscriptions of Alexandria, one Christian. 3. Heuzey; publishes a terra-cotta statuette now in the Louvre, which the architect Auguste Titeux had procured in Athens; it represents a veiled dancing girl and was probably found at Athens; compares the type on the Acropolis relief of Pan, and the dances of the Hours, Nymphs, and Cœclopidae; its frequency may be connected with certain Athenian dances described by Philostratus (Apoll. iv. 21, 73—74): from the calendar-reliefs it seems these dances took place at the commencement of winter, by a symbolism analogous to that of the Veiled Demeter: plate. 4. Giannopoulos; two Byzantine inscriptions from Drama. 5. Joubin and Wilhelm; fifty inscriptions from Chalcis and the neighbourhood; no. i. is an honorary decree of the 2nd cent. B.C. by a guild of Dionysiac artists, dedicating a statue by one Zoilos, a sculptor otherwise unknown: no. vi. is an interesting honorary decree by the *κούρδη τῶν Εὐβοιέων*: no. vii. a decree by P. Ampelius, the Proconsul; no. xx. shows the use of the sign of apostrophe in the uncials.<sup>1</sup> 6. Kambanis; the draining of Lake Copais by the ancients; sufficient traces still exist to admit of the complete restoration of the complicated and ingenious scheme anciently projected: it effected the complete sanitization of this part of Boeotia; plan and two cuts. 7. Legrand; eighteen inscriptions of Astypalaea and Anaphe (see *Bulletin* xv. p. 629): no. xxxv. is a decree of the *κούρδη* of the Cretans, giving ἀστιλα to the Anaphiotae; at this date (last part of 3rd cent. B.C.) 'the Cretan pirates were desolating the Archipelago, and asylia must have been a most desirable privilege.' 8. Doublet; publishes a relief (a funeral banquet, pl. vi.) votive to Aesculapius, and twenty-three inscriptions, all from Delos; these give new instances of the artists' names Hephaistion and Polianthes, and an artist Glaukos.....rou. 9. Toeppfer; fresh remarks on the Koan inscription (*Ath. Mitt.* xvi. p. 411). 10. Legrand; publishes a marble Hermes found at Troezen which has close analogies to the Doryphorus: the tree trunk is replaced by a ram: two plates. 11. Kontoleon: seven inscriptions of Epirus.

C. S.

*The same.* April—August, 1892.

1. Lechat; the first of a series of articles on the archaic statues at Athens: groups under four heads certain statues which appear to be related, and analyzes their respective styles. 2. Bérard; publishes 88 sepulchral inscriptions of Olympos, including those already given in *C.I.G.* etc., and gives an index of the proper names therein. 3. Pottier; publishes cuts of the Louvre painted sarcophagus from Clazomenae, and discusses the whole class; thinks they prove that the Caere hydriae were products of the Ionian art of Asia Minor; gives a revised list of the Caere hydriae, publishing cuts of one in the Louvre, and tracing evidence of the Oriental sources of this 'Ionian' art: nine cuts. 4. Homolle: publishes a series of inscriptions found in the island of Amorgos, relating to contracts of loans and leaseholds, with interesting details concerning agriculture etc. 5. Joubin; publishes

<sup>1</sup> The authors assign this inscription to the '3rd or 4th century B.C.'; but if the forms of the letters as here given are reliable, this must be a misprint.

two Cretan funeral urns of Mycenaean style, one in the form of a sarcophagus, the other the lid of a similar sarcophagus; they contained bones which showed no trace of incineration, and are too small to hold a corpse: two cuts. 6. Foujères; an inscription of Salamis forming part of a list of athletic prizes. 7. Latyschew; notes on some recently found metrical inscriptions (*Bulletin* xiii. p. 404, 21; xv. p. 599, 31; *ibid.* p. 61 A, 44; p. 631, 3; p. 634, 8). 8. Diamantaras; eight inscriptions from different sites in Lycia. 9. Heuzey; a prototype of the bulls of Tiryns and Amyclæ; publishes a fragmentary plaque with reliefs similar to those described *C.R.* 1890, p. 322; discusses the combats with bulls and compares analogous motives in Mycenaean art: double plate. 10. Lucovich; three inscriptions of Kios in Bithynia. 11. Fustel de Coulanges; four inscriptions of Chios, copied in 1854. 12. Homolle; publishes the two marble reliefs belonging to the Duc de Loulé at Lisbon, thought by Wolters and others to be false; and gives several good reasons for considering them authentic neo-Attic originals: four cuts, two plates. 13. Corrections and additions to the articles on archaic statues of Athens, *ante p. 177*, etc.

C. S.

*Revue Numismatique.* Troisième trimestre, 1892.

De Vogué. 'Note sur quelques monnaies des rois d'Édesse.'—Svoronos, 'Monnaie inédite de la Cyrénaique au type d'Eros.'—Babelon, 'Les monnaies des satrapes dans l'empire des Perses achéménides' (part 1).—*Reviews* of Wroth's *Coins of Mysia* and Evans's *Horsemen of Tarentum and Syracusean Medallions*.

*Revue Numismatique.* Quatrième trimestre, 1892.

Contains the concluding part of Babelon's interesting and useful article 'Les monnaies des satrapes,' and a review of the concluding volume (viii.) of Cohen's work on Roman Imperial Coins.

*Numismatic Chronicle.* Part II. 1892.

F. B. Baker, 'Some coin-types of Asia Minor.' *Magnesia ad Maeandrum.* Coin of Gordian III. with the type of a man uprooting a tree. The writer revives a forgotten explanation of Cavedoni's explaining the type as a representation of a devotee of Apollo in the act of tearing up one of the trees of the Magnesian Hylae, as described by Pausanias x. 32 (cp. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, i. p. 37). *Mylasa.* Bronze Imperial coin with the head of Hecatomnus, King of Caria, or rather perhaps of Zeus or Zenoposeidon. *Cyzicus.* Electrum stater with man-headed bull (Greenwell's *Cyzicus*, pl. ii. 29). The bull is not a river-god but Dionysos:—*ἐν δὲ Κυζίκῳ καὶ ταῦροφός θύρται*, Athenaeus, xi. ch. 51.—*Reviews*. Notice of Babelon's 'Aradus' by B. V. Head.—*Miscellanea.* Find of Roman coins, chiefly of Arcadius and Honorius, at Cologne in 1886.

*Numismatic Chronicle.* Part III. 1892.

Hermann Weber, 'On some unpublished or rare Greek coins.' Interesting coins in fine condition, from Dr. Weber's own collection. The following may here be noticed. *Himera.* Tetradrachm with representations of the Nymphs Himera, and Pelops in a chariot. Date, *circ.* B.C. 472. Didrachm with rev. Himera sacrificing and the inscription ΣΩΤΗΡ. *Euboea.* Didrachm of unusual weight (Aeginetic). *Elis.* Several rare coins. *Delos.* Archaic didrachms with type, lyre, and the letter Δ. Dr. Weber suggests that these coins belong to Delos, an

island to which no archaic coinage has, with certainty, been attributed. *Assus*. A unique coin with obv. head of Athena; rev. lion's head and the (blundered ?) inscription ΑΣΣΟΟΝ. The coin appears, to judge from Dr. Weber's photograph, to have been struck somewhat before 400 B.C. *Smyrna and Tenos. Alliance. Ocochia and Bruzus*, (Phrygia). Alliance: obv. head and titles of Commodus; rev. ΟΚΟΚΛΙΕΩΝ BP[ΟΥΖ] ΗΝΩΝ OMONOIA. Zeus, holding eagle, and Kybele, holding ears of corn, standing facing one an-

other; between them, an altar. (Bronze.) On Oocchia, see Ramsay's *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, pp. 57, 136.—Review of Ridgeway's *Origin of Metallic Currency*, by B. V. Head. Notice of *Revue numismatique*, part ii. 1892, by Head, who suggests that the satrapal coin attributed by Babelon to Abrocomas should be read Abdsasan. This is on the evidence of a recently acquired coin in the British Museum. 'Forgeries of Roman large Brass Coins,' by H. A. Grueber. Describes forgeries of Tranquillina, Didia Clara, etc., lately made in Italy.

W. WROTH.

## OBITUARY.

PROFESSOR HORT, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L.

ON Nov. 30, 1892 passed away almost without notice in the daily papers and even in weekly journals, such as the *Academy* and *Athenaeum*, which are addressed to a more educated circle, one who will be long remembered in Cambridge as the very embodiment of her ideal of the Christian scholar. From a boy he had been remarkable for an eager thirst after knowledge of every kind, which was witnessed to in his Rugby days by the four first classes in which his name appeared Christmas after Christmas to the awed amazement of his school-fellows, and subsequently by the honours gained in four schools at Cambridge.

The basis of his character was a persistent enthusiasm. He threw his whole heart into everything that he did. As he was intensely alive to impressions received through the senses, which made him an excellent botanical observer, so he was intensely alive to the impressions received through books, which made study to him a continual delight, and enabled him without weariness to get through an amount of what others might have thought drudgery, which is simply astounding to those who have seen the proofs of it in his library. With Hort enthusiasm was not merely receptive and emotional: it was combined with extraordinary activity of the imaginative and reasoning powers, and controlled by a no less active exercise of the critical faculty, which compelled him to test every statement by the strictest canons of evidence and continually to compare his own work with the highest conceivable standard of excellence. It was this constant reference to a scarcely attainable standard which made him so scrupulously fastidious in his work,

and so modest in regard to his own achievements, while at the same time it so unfortunately limited the output of his labours during his own lifetime. The 'intellectual conscientiousness,' which Prof. Grote noted as the distinguishing feature in his friend Leslie Ellis, showed itself not less strongly in Hort in 'the feeling of dissatisfaction at anything being confusedly put, or not thoroughly worked out.' He had too the faith which Grote regarded as the mark of the true philosopher, '*non desperavit de veritate*: he believed in truth enough to be willing to labour for it and to forego any substitutes for it.' In his quest after truth he paid no regard to preconceived opinions, or to the popularity or otherwise of the results of inquiry, believing that in theology, as in other departments of thought, the truth could only be ascertained by following humbly the guidance of facts.

This single-minded devotion to truth and indifference to outside opinion had its natural results. To the world in general he was unknown; to the great majority even of scholars and divines he was known only by report as the author of two extremely abstruse volumes; but it has been truly said that 'by all who have studied the problems of the New Testament and of early Christian literature, it will be felt that in the death of Dr. Hort the world of letters has lost the Christian scholar that could least be spared, the voice that, wherever it made itself heard, all were compelled to give attention to.' What he was to his own pupils may be judged from three most interesting notices which appeared almost im-

mediately after his death, the first in the *Cambridge Review* of Dec. 8 by Prof. Ryle, the second in the *Guardian* of Dec. 7 and 14 by the Rev. J. O. Murray, the third in the *Expositor* for Jan. by Prof. Armitage Robinson. It is mainly from these notices, especially from that of Mr. Murray, that the brief memoir which follows has been compiled, and I cannot bring my own remarks to a close better than by quoting words, which may raise a doubt whether Hort was more to be congratulated on the friendship and fellowship of Westcott and Lightfoot in his life, or on the knowledge that after his death his work would continue to be carried on in his own spirit by the scholars whom he had trained.

The first quotation shall be from Prof. Armitage Robinson :—

‘No wonder that a kind of cult arose among those who were privileged to enter his study or his lecture-room...He would guide where guidance was really needed ; he would always sympathize and encourage ; he never seemed surprised at knowledge or ignorance ; never shocked at the expression of most crude opinions. But on the other hand he seemed to regard the formation of opinion as a very sacred thing ; he refused to prejudice by arguing with one who was beginning the study of the subject. “What book would you recommend as the best introduction to the Synoptic question ?” After some sympathetic preface came the words never to be forgotten, “I should advise you to take your Greek Testament, and get your own view of the facts first of all.”...To a confession of ignorance as a disqualification for a certain undertaking, he replied in a careful letter : “nor need you be perturbed by the consciousness of ignorance, though you must not expect to get free from it. As far as my experience goes, the more one learns, the more one’s sense of ignorance increases, and that in more than double measure. We can only go blunderingly on according to the best of our lights, hoping that sooner or later the blunders will get corrected by others.”’

The second is from Professor Ryle :—

‘What we younger men in Cambridge owe to him, to his example, to his desire and eagerness to help and to sympathize in life and in study, to the influence of his character, we can never say in words : we can simply pray that, though in a way quite unworthy of so noble a leader and so inspiring a master-worker, it may be given

us to do a little, during our short day, in something of the same spirit that animated Dr. Hort.’

J. B. M.

Fenton John Antony Hort, son of Mr. Fenton Hort of Dublin and afterwards of Cheltenham, and great-grandson of the Archbishop of Tuam of the same name, was born April 23, 1828, educated at Laleham under Arnold’s brother-in-law, the Rev. J. Buckland, and at Rugby under Arnold and Tait. Next to that of Arnold himself, the most marked influence in his school days came from Bonamy Price, at that time master of the Twenty, the form immediately below the Sixth. To the end of his life his old master recalled with delight the memory of the bright eyes and keen, inquiring, ever active spirit of one of the most attractive pupils he had ever known. From Rugby he passed to Trinity College, Cambridge, in October 1846. Westcott was two years his senior, and Hort read with him for one term before taking his degree in 1850. Lightfoot came up in 1847, and Hort and Lightfoot were elected Fellows together in 1852. Hort’s university degree included three first classes, in Classics (bracketed third), in Moral Science, and in Natural Science, beside a Junior Optime in the Mathematical Tripos, in which he was unable to show his full powers, being still weak from scarlet fever and allowed only to take the papers in the lower subjects. Nor were his energies and interests confined to the regular studies of the University. He belonged to one or two Essay Clubs and was for a time President of the Union, on the walls of which his portrait is to be seen. He was ordained at Oxford in 1854. In the same year appeared the first number of the *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, edited by him in conjunction with Lightfoot and the present Professor of Latin. It was about the same time that he and Dr. Westcott formed the design of bringing out a critical edition of the Greek Testament, as well as of joining with Lightfoot in the elucidation of the Epistles of the N.T., St. John being undertaken by Westcott, St. Paul by Lightfoot, and the Catholic Epistles by Hort.

On his marriage in 1857 he succeeded to the College living of St. Ippolyt’s, near Hitchin, where he remained for fifteen years, returning to Cambridge in 1872 as Fellow and Divinity Lecturer of Emmanuel College. He became Hulsean Professor in 1878 and

succeeded Dr. Swainson in the Lady Margaret Chair in 1887. The list of his printed writings appended below will show the general line of his studies during this period; besides these, there were the lectures, delivered in College or before the University; and much time and labour were devoted to assisting his fellow-workers in the same department, both in England and abroad. Up to the year 1881 his chief work was of course the preparation for his edition of the Greek Text of the New Testament. The principles on which it is based are explained and illustrated in the Introduction and Appendix, which were drawn up by Dr. Hort. The decisions as to the readings adopted are the result of the joint labours of the two editors, who compared together the conclusions they had independently arrived at; and where on comparison these conclusions were found to disagree, the differences were discussed in writing, until either the divergence disappeared, or a final contrariety of judgment was declared. The vast collections which formed the basis of these arguments, as well as the important correspondence itself, are most carefully preserved. Another constant correspondent was Tregelles, whose edition of the Greek Testament, with the exception of the first part, was enriched from the stores of early patristic references accumulated in Dr. Hort's margins. The posthumous Part vii. of Tregelles' edition, containing the Prolegomena and embodying in the Addenda and Corrigenda a careful review of the whole evidence collected in Tregelles' notes on the Text, besides incorporating a large amount of fresh material, was compiled and edited by Dr. Hort with the assistance of Mr. Streane in 1879. And the proof-sheets of Dr. Gregory's Prolegomena to Tischendorf's eighth edition, in the two parts already published, have also had the advantage of his generous supervision.

In 1870 he became a member of the Committee appointed to revise the Authorized Version, and for years he was one of the most indefatigable and influential attendants at its sittings. After the Revised Version of the New Testament was published in 1881, he took part in the revision of the Apocrypha, the books assigned to the Cambridge Committee being Wisdom and the Second Book of Maccabees, and his fellow-workers being Dr. Westcott and Dr. Moulton. The work on the Book of Wisdom was only brought to a conclusion in the month before his death. The subjects of the Lectures which he delivered in College and before the University were mainly confined to the

Greek Testament and the Fathers. In many cases they did not go beyond a careful and complete introduction, worked out at first hand from the original sources, and including a series of short, clear, delicate appreciations of the work of his predecessors in the same field. As an expositor he had a unique power of taking a phrase to pieces, and tracing the history of each of its significant parts, first singly and then in conjunction. Having thus helped his class to an understanding of the wealth of association that had gathered round each phrase by the time that the author came to use it, he would then replace them in their context; and it was often surprising to notice the richness of meaning which this truly historical method of treatment brought to light in passages which might otherwise have been passed over as common-place and unimportant.

During the last two years of his life he suffered from constant ill-health. His latest work was the article on his friend and colleague, Bp. Lightfoot, for the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The effort to produce always told severely upon him, and in this case the strain was intensified by the necessity of working against time.

The following chronological list of his printed work is drawn up by Mr. Murray.

1851. *Christian Socialist*, October 11, 1851. 'The Message of the Church to Landlords.' Letter enclosing a 'Prayer for Landlords,' from a primer of Edw. VI., in the column of 'Free Correspondence.'

In the same year he contributed to the *Annals of Natural History* (ser. II. vol. vii. p. 374) an identification of a new bramble known to botanists as *rubus imbricatus* (Hort).

1854. *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*. Vol. I. Pearson's Marginalia. (1) and (2).

Short Notices of Dressel's ed. of Clementine Homilies, of Ueltzen's ed. of Constitutions Apostolicae, and of a tract (historical) by H. W. J. Thiersch.

1855. *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*. Vol. 2. Review of Tregelles on printed text of N. T.

Notices of Tischendorf's Anecdota and of Baumgarten on the Acts.

Edits H. Mackenzie's Hulsean Essay on the Beneficial Influence of the Clergy during the First Ten Centuries.

1856. 'Tintern, October, 1855.' A poem included in the volume entitled 'Peace in War. In Memoriam L. R.' (Macmillan.)

*Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology.* Vol. 3. (a) On the date of Justin Martyr.

(b) A fragment of S. Dionysius of Alexandria, discovered in Univ. Library.

(c) A study of the word 'Limes' in elucidation of Tac. Ann. i. 50.

(d) On the translation of the Aorist, including a full discussion of the meanings of *viv.*

*Cambridge Essays.* Elaborate article on 'Coleridge.'

1857. Letter to Rev. J. Ll. Davies. On the Tenure of Fellowships and on Church Patronage in Trinity College.

1857-60. *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology.* Vol. 4. (a) Review of Tregelles (Part i.) and Tischendorf. Ed. 7 (1855-7).

(b) Identification of the Latin Version of the lost Commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia on ten of St. Paul's Epistles.

(c) Review of Scrivener's edition of the Codex Augiensis, and Tischendorf, Ed. 7 (1859). (Concluding parts.)

1862. Thoughts on the Revised Code of Education: its purposes and probable effects.

1864. *Macmillan's Magazine.* 'The Last Days of Simon de Montfort: a Fragment.'

1869. *Journal of Philology.* Controversy with Lightfoot on the Doxology at the end of the Romans (xvi. 25-27).

1873. Edits Memorials of the late W. B. Marriott, including (1) Grinfield Lectures on Terms of Gift and Offering; (2) Treatise on the Holy Eucharist.

1876. Two Dissertations. I. On *Mονογένης Θεός* in Scripture and Tradition.

II. On the 'Constantinopolitan Creed' and other Eastern Creeds of the Fourth Century.

1877. *Dict. of Christian Biogr.* Vol. I. 60 articles, chiefly on Gnostics, including Apelles, Bardesanes (Bardaisan), Basilides.

1879. Prolegomena to Tregelles. Selected and edited with the help of Mr. Streane.

1881. May. The New Testament in Greek (with Dr. Westcott).

August. 'Introduction' and Appendix.

1885. The New Testament in Greek. Smaller edition, with fresh appendix.

1885. *Times*, June 25, July 16. Letters on the Fayoum Fragment.

1887. *Academy*, Feb. 26, June 11. 'Codex Amiatinus.'

1889. Sermon in the College Chapel.

'The Growth of a College into a Temple in the Universal Temple.'

1890. Sermon at Dr. Westcott's Consecration. 'The Sense and Service of Membership the Measure of True Soundness in the Body.'

1892. *Dict. of National Biography.* 'J. B. Lightfoot.' Title-page dated 1893. *No date.* A Paper on Hebrews i. 8.

We are glad to learn from Dr. Hort's executors that he has left behind him a large mass of MS., much of which it is hoped may be shortly published. This includes, beside the four Hulsean Lectures on the Way, the Truth, and the Life, which are already in type, (1) Lectures on the N.T.; (2) Lectures on the Fathers; (3) Lectures on the history of the Church.

(1) The most important under this head are:—

The Epistle to the Romans (Easter term 1886), amounting to 92 8vo pages of MS.

First three chapters of the Apocalypse, 129 pages.

Ephesians, 130 pages.

St. James, 301 8vo, and 254 4to pages.

St. Peter, 1st Epistle, 300 pages.

There are also 53 pages on 1 Timothy, 43 on 1 Corinthians, some notes on the Galatians and on N.T. Lexicography.

(2) Clementine Recognitions, 162 pages and a great quantity of notes.

Tertullian against Marcion, 120 pages.

Tatian 76 pages and loose notes.

There are also some popular Lectures on the Fathers delivered before the Cambridge Clergy Training School, notes on Cyril of Jerusalem, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen against Celsus.

(3) Judaistic Christianity (1886 and 1887), 218 pages.

Early Conceptions and Early History of the Christian *ἐκκλησία* (1889), 305 pages.

(4) Besides these, there are the 'pièces justificatives,' already referred to, of the readings adopted in the Greek Testament, together with the correspondence which passed between him and Dr. Westcott on the same subject; a mass of other correspondence on points of literary or scientific interest; a great quantity of notes on the revision of the N.T. and Apocrypha; Notebooks and Marginalia &c., from all of which it is hoped that selections will hereafter be made for publication.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

**Colorado College Studies.** Third year. 1892  
(Colorado Springs, Colo., U.S.A.).

Of interest to classical scholars are: *The Etymologies of the Servian Commentary to Vergil*, by W. P. Mustard. The author (1) states and discusses the etymological principles followed by Servius in his nearly one thousand etymologies, reserving for a separate paper an enquiry into Servius's sources: (2) transcribes and examines all his false and his popular etymologies.—*Some Notes on Blaydes's Nubes*, by A. T. Murray. Miscellaneous criticisms and detailed treatment of vv. 24, 151, 225, 369, 493, 575, 592, 743, 823, 1026, where as a rule M. follows the traditional reading as against Blaydes's emendations.—*On a passage in Eur. Iph. Taur.* [§51 ff.], by A. T. Murray. Proposes οὐδοτούχεις γάρ τοισιν εὐθυγέρτεροι | σταν κακῶς πράξωνιν οὐ φρονοῦσιν εὐ.

**Jahresberichte des Philologischen Vereins zu Berlin.** Feb.—May 1891.

HOMER (exclusive of the higher criticism) 1888-1890 by E. Naumann.

I. Editions. *Homers Iliade*, by J. H. Faesi. Vol. i. Books i.-vi. 7th edition by F. R. Franke, Berlin 1888. *Homers Ilias*, by K. F. Ameis. Vol. i. part iv. books x-xii., by C. Hentze. 3rd edition, Leipzig 1888. Vol. ii. part iv. books xxii.-xxiv. ib. *Anhang zu Homers Ilias*, by K. F. Ameis. Part iv. books x.-xii., by C. Hentze. 2nd edition, ib. *Homers Ilias*, by G. Stier. Parts iii.-vii. books vii.-xxi., Gotha 1889, 1890. Very useful for schools. *Homeri Iliadis carmina cum apparatu critico* edd. J. van Leeuwen jr. et M. B. Mendes da Costa. Vol. i. (A-M), Leyden 1887, vol. ii. (N-Q) ib. 1889. An edition in the sense of Cobet worked out with the diligence and acuteness of Dutch philologists [*Class. Rev.* ii. 174]. *The Iliad edited with English notes and introduction*, by Walter Leaf. Vol. i. books i.-xi. London 1886, vol. ii. books xiii.-xxiv. ib. 1888. It cannot be denied that the editor has made a very careful and thorough study of Homer. *Homers Iliad*, ed. Paul Cauer. Part i. (A-M). Wien 1890. C. seeks to constitute a text such as the rhapsodists used and is therefore obliged to adopt many hypotheses without proof [*Class. Rev.* ii. 313]. *Homers Odyssee*, by K. F. Ameis. Vol. i. part ii. books vii.-xii. 8th edition by C. Hentze, Leipzig 1889. Vol. ii. part ii. books xix.-xxiv. 7th edition by C. Hentze ib. Vol. i. part i. 9th edition by C. Hentze ib. 1890. This work is now more fit for teachers than schoolboys. *Anhang zu Homers Odyssee*, by K. F. Ameis. Part ii. books vii.-xii. 3rd edition by C. Hentze, Leipzig 1889. Part i. books i.-vi. 4th edition by C. Hentze, ib. 1890. There is nothing more convenient than this. *Homers Odyssee* by Ferd. Weck. In eight parts, Gotha 1886-1890. Thorough and acute. *Homeri carmina rec. Arth. Ludwick*. Part ii. *Odysseus*: vol. i. (α-μ), Leipzig 1889. Vol. ii. (ν-ω), ib. 1891. L. here offers the result of many years' study of the text. *L'Odyssee d'Homère*, by Alexis Pierron. 2nd edition 2 vols. Paris 1888. Maintains the unity of the Odyssey; an opponent of Fick. *Homer's Odyssey*, books i.-xii. by W. W. Merry. Part i. Introduction and text. Part ii. Notes. Oxford 1887. A well got up and useful school edition.

II. Criticism and elucidation of the text. P. Cauer, *zur homerischen Interpunktions*, Rhein. Mus. 1889. The thesis is maintained that Homer can-

not be understood without bearing in mind that the thoughts expressed were intended for oral delivery. F. Weck, *Homerische Probleme*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1888. A number of conjectures. J. van Leeuwen jr., *Homeric Muemos*. 1888. A. Scotland, *zu Homers Ilias*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1888. On Δ 74 foll., and on Ε 267. H. van Herwerden, *Tentatur Homeri locus A 272*. Mnemos. 1888. H. van Herwerden, *Homeric Rhein. Mus.* 1889. A number of conjectures. R. Peppmüller, *Homer N 685-700 und O 328 ff.* Berl. Phil. WS. 1888. F. Vollbrecht, *zur Ilias*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1890. On Π 257-267. J. Simon, *zur Gerichtsscene auf dem Achilleesschild*. Mittelschule 1888. Opposes Leaf's interpretation of Σ 499 foll. H. Lipsius, *Die Gerichtsscene in der Ilias*. Leipzig Stud. 1890. P. W. Forchhammer, *Erklärung der Ilias*. 2nd edition, Kiel 1888. Makes an allegory of the Iliad by the aid of arbitrary interpretation. P. W. Forchhammer, *Mythologie eine Wissenschaft*. Phil. 46 (1887). A. Scotland, *Atheno-Mentes in Ithaka*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1888. Bärwinkel, *zur Odyssee*. Progr. Sondershausen 1889. Treats in connexion the following passages: 1. Mentes-Athene. 2. The Noemon-scenes. 3. The return of Telemachus. 4. The narrative of Telemachus's return, and opposes Scotland's views. C. Schlaack, *Proben von Erklärungs-bezw. Emendierungs-versuchen griechischer und römischer Klassiker*. Progr. Cottbus 1888. Several passages in the Odyssey treated. A. Nauck, *Analecta critica*. Hermen 1889. C. Haerlin, *Homer i. 116-117*. Phil. 1889. E. Schultz, *Zur Odyssee*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1890. Conjectures on μ 251, χ 186, ω 231. J. La Roche, *Materialien für einen Kommentar zur Odyssee*. Progr. Linz 1888. Treats of the meaning of certain words, on constructions, on the translation of participles by adverbial expressions, meaning of tenses &c.

III. Dictionaries, Etymology, Metre. C. Capelle, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch über die Gedichte des Homeros und der Homeriden*. 9th edition. Leipzig 1889 [*Class. Rev.* iv. 44]. G. Autenrieth, *Wörterbuch zu den Homerischen Gedichten*. 6th edition. Leipzig 1890. H. Ebeling, *Schulwörterbuch zu Homers Odyssee und Ilias*. 5th edition. Prosody and metric much attended to. O. Wiedemann, *Etymologien*. Bezzenger Beitr. 1887. On ἀμολύδος and βλάζτειν. A. Fick, *φωτίζως, κίβναται, ὑπόψιος*. Bezzenger Beitr. 1887, 1888. J. Wackernagel, *Miscellen zur griechischen Grammatik*. On Π 428, πῆμα, σῶμα, βελτίων. Kuhn's Ztschr. 1887. E. Maass, *Mythische Kurznamen*. Hermen 1888. On Ἀλκιμος, Κάλχας, Memnon and Agamemnon. F. Vollbrecht, παιπαλόεις. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1889, also on M 167-172. Mehlis, *Über die Wurzel ΘΕΞ*. Progr. Eiselen 1889. W. Ridgeway, Δεῖπνον and Δόρπον. Jour. of Phil. 1888. J. A. Samneg, Ταλαύριος—λιθόρριος. Phil. 1889. H. Weil, *Observations sur les épiques grecques*. Rev. de Phil. 1887. λ 489 ἐπάρουρος ἔσν=ἐπιχθόνιος ἔών. L. Parmentier, Κάγκαρος bei Homer. Rev. de l'instruct. publ. in Belg. 1889. J. van Leeuwen jr. et M. B. Mendes da Costa, *Grammaire de la langue d'Homère* from the Dutch by J. Keelhoff. Can only be used with the writer's text [*Class. Rev.* i. 199]. G. Vogrinz, *Grammatik des Homerischen Dialekts*. Paderborn, 1889. The Homeric dialect is described as a kind of old Ionic with traces of Aeolic [*Class. Rev.* iii. 303]. G. Vogrinz, *Die neueste Sprachwissenschaft und die Schule*. N. Jahr. f. Phil. 1889. Follows the lines of the grammar. C. Heraens, *Homerische Formenlehre*. 2nd edition, Berlin 1888. The forms of the Homeric dialect accurately set forth.

O. Kübler, *zur Homerischen Vers- und Formenlehre*. Progr. Berlin 1889. C. Hentze, *Die Parataxis bei Homer*. Parts i. and ii. Progr. Göttingen 1888 and 1889. Sound and careful. H. Draheim, *De hiatus debili qui dicitur homericus*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1888. E. Eberhard, *Die Partikel καὶ im homerischen Verse*. Ztschr. f. d. öst. G. 1889.

IV. Scholia and Manuscripts. *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliudem Townleyanum*, rec. E. Maass, vols. i. and ii. Oxford 1887, 1888 [Class. Rev. iii. 155]. U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Zu den Homerscholien*. Hermes 1888. Insists on the necessity of an edition of the Didymus Scholia. A. Ludwich, *Scholia in Homeri Odysseae et auctiora et emendatoria*. This is in five parts up to line 309. A. Ludwich, *Zu den Iliasscholien*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1889. On Commentaries in Spain. A. Ludwich, *Wie verstanden die Alten das homerische ἡρόποτις?* N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1889. A. Ludwich, *Oileus und Ileus*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1889. H. Heubach, *Quibus vocabulis artis criticae propriis usi sunt Homeri* (cod. Ven. A) *scholiastae*. Progr. Eisenach 1889. W. Schmidt, *Das Alter der Epitome aus dem Werken der vier Aristarchen*. Philol. 1889. Decides for before the 6th century. H. Schrader, *Die hexametrischen Überschriften zu den achtundvierzig homerischen Rhapsodien*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1888. Jo. Sturm, *Zu den ἑτηραῖαι der Odyssee*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1888. H. Schrader, *Porphyrii questionum Homericarum ad Odysseam pertinentiarum reliquias ed.* H. S. Leipzig 1890. [Class. Rev. v. 412.] G. Spindler, *De Zoilo Homermastige qui vocatur*. Diss. Halle 1889. Z. lived about 410 B.C.—330 B.C. First called Homermastix in Alexandrian times. O. Immisch, *Ad Cypria carmen*. Rhein. Mus. 1889. Refers to 73 foll. to a fragment of the Cypria. K. Sittl, *Mitteilung über eine Iliushandschrift der römischen Nationalbibliothek*. München 1888. Cod. Graec., the oldest minuscule MS. of the Iliad, is to be placed in the ninth century.

V. Subject-matter. A. Biese, *Homer und der Hellenismus*, Preuss. Jahrb. 1889. To show that the antithesis of the naive and the sentimental is already found in Homer. Joh. Schmidt, *Das subjektive Element bei Homer*. Progr. Wien 1889. The places collected where traces of the individuality of a poet are to be seen. Max Krenkel, *Biblische Parallelen zu Homeros*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1888. A. Jung, *De homine Homericus*. Progr. Meseritz 1888. Depicts the whole life of a man as Homer represents him. M. Hecht, *Kulturhistorische Forschungen zum homerischen Zeitalter*. N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1888. Jos. Schuchert, *Die gegenseitige Abhängigkeit der religiösen und ethischen Vorstellungen in den Epen Homers*. Progr. Brixen 1889. W. Hahn *Zeus in der Ilias*. i. Progr. Stralsund 1888. ii. ib. 1889. In the first part it is shown that Z. is a character in process of development, in the second his relation to the other gods is described. J. Lichthaler, *Die Darstellung der Unterwelt bei Homer Odys. xi. und Virgil Aen. vi. ; Das Verhältniss Virgils zu Dante dell' inferno*. Progr. Meran 1887. E. Maass, Θέωσα (69) Ἰόρος (A 101). N. Jahrb. f. Phil. 1890. Edm. Veckenstedt, *Geschichte der griechischen Farbenlehre*. Paderborn 1888. A good historical account with a thorough investigation of colour in Homer. O. Weise, *Die Farbenbezeichnungen bei den Griechen und Römern*. Philol. 1888. Many Homeric colour-words discussed. A. Breusing, *Die Lösung des Triereururteils*. Bremen 1889. A continuation and completion of the author's 'Nautik der Alten.' Chr. Belger, *Der Schuss des Odysseus durch die zwölf Aeste*. Berl. Phil. WS. 1890. W. S. Fink, *Der Verschluss bei den Griechen und Römern*. Regensburg 1890. R. Engelmann,

*Bilder-Atlas zum Homer*. Leipzig 1889. Contains thirty-six maps with illustrative text. Von Hagen, *Der Schild des Achilles*. Lehrproben und Lehrgänge 1888. An attempt to acquaint the scholar with the high poetical worth of this passage.

#### Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie u. Pädagogik. Ed. Fleckeisen u. Masius.

1891. Heft 12 contains (1) C. Rüger *Zur pseudo-Demosthenischen Rede wider Euryrgos u. Mnesibulus* and (2) P. Schulze *Zur pseudo-Lucianischen Schrift περὶ ὄψησθεως*. Both these writings are shown to be rightly rejected. (3) R. Klotz *Metrisches zu Plautus Casina*, chiefly a discussion of the metres of the cantica, but incidentally maintaining that Plautus does not allow hiatus at a caesura in senarii. (4) M. Kiderlin *Zum IXten Buche des Quintilianus*, emendations. (5) J. Netusil *Ueber die Bedingungssätze*, proposing to distinguish unreal from fictive hypotheses. (6) F. Knoke *Zu Tac. Germania 2*, discussing the translation. (7) W. Liebenam *Zur Tradition über Germanicus*, conclusion.

1892. Heft 1 contains (1) J. Menrad *Sarkasmos bei Homer*, a collection of instances of this figure. (2) O. Höfer *Die göttin 'Opala*, identifying her with Kybele. (3) F. Hultsch *Metrologisches zu einer thebanischen inschrift*, chiefly devoted to showing that, in Boeotia, about B.C. 200, the value of gold compared with silver was about 12 : 1. (4) F. Blass *Demosthenica aus neuen papyri*, discussing the argument to c. *Meidiam* written on the back of the Aristotle papyrus, and the letter published by Kenyon along with Herodas. (5) F. Kühl *Die rede gegen Philippides*, discussing the fragments of this speech also published by Kenyon. (6) H. v. Kleist *Zu Platos Laches*, discussing the definition of ἀνδρεία. (7) F. Polle *Ovidius und Anaxagoras*, to the effect that the cosmogony of the Metamorphoses is probably derived from Anaxagoras. (8) E. Gruppe *Zu Caesar B.G.*, emendations. (9) K. Niemeyer *Zu Hor. Carm. III. 1-6*, contending against the supposed political significance of these odes. (10) K. Rossberg *Zu Manilius*, emendations. (11) J. H. Schmalz *Der inf. fut. pass. auf -uirī bei Cicero*, restoring redditū iri for redditū (with sciens inserted) in ad Att. V. 15, 3.

Heft 2 contains short papers, the chief of which are (1) R. Vári *Der codex Auriacae der Homerischen hymnen*, a restoration of the codex with the aid of a Paris ms. suppl. grec. 1095. (2) F. Blass *Τηρεπεῖον κατὰ Φιλαππεῖον*, a revised text of this fragment. (3) F. Reuss *Hieron II.*, contending that Hiero became King of Syracuse in B.C. 270, but not king of the allies before B.C. 265—4. (4) R. Schneider *Zu Herondas*, emendations. (5) E. Schweder *Ueber die weltkarte u. chorographic des Augustus*, contending that Pliny and Mela used an explanatory handbook to the map published by Augustus and Agrippa. (6) C. Häberlin *Analecta Apuleiana*. (7) P. R. Müller *Zu Tac. Germania* and M. Mertens *Zu Ausonius*, emendations.

Heft 3 also contains little of importance. The chief papers are (1) H. Welzhofer *Zur Gesch. der Perserkriege*, parts 3 and 4, discussing Xerxes' march to Sardis and Abydos, and thence through Thrace. (2) Th. Büttner-Wobst on Σπαρνγὸς ὅσταρος as the translation of consul. (3) K. Hude *Zur Ermordung des Hipparchos*, comparing chiefly the account in Thuc. VI. with that in ΑΘ. πολιτεία. (4) H. Lewy *Mythologische Beiträge*, a curious paper, detecting Semitic words in many mythological proper names. E.g. *Priapos* = *Peri-jäphä* 'die frucht ist schön.' (5) A. Fleckeisen and E. Redslob *Notes and emendations to Plautus*.

Heft 4 and 5 (together) contain, besides brief notes, (1) H. Meuss *Thukydides u. die religiöse aufklärung*, a discussion of Thuc.'s religious position. (2) N. Weeklein *Zu Sophokles*, a few notes and emendations, of which the best perhaps is *Alavri θεοῖς κυρεῖν* in *Aj.* 800. (3) A. Ludwig *Neuaufgefundene hss. der Homerischen hymnen*. (4) R. Wagner *Proklos u. Apollodoros*, on the contents of the epic cycle. (5) J. A. Simon *Zu Xen. Hellenika*, on emendations. (6) O. Hense *Batrachos-Battaros*, on a supposed reference to Herondas in Plutarch. (7) W. Weinberger *Ueber das wort *μουσεῖον* in the modern sense of *museum**. (8) K. Buresch *Zu den pseudo-sibyllinischen orakeln*, a very large collection of emendations. (9) G. M. Sakoraphos *Zur Topographie Korkyra*. (10) O. E. Schmidt *Die Schlacht bei Mutina*, fixing the day as April 21st, not 27th. (11) C. Hosius *Lucanus u. Seneca*, about the influence of Seneca on his nephew.

Heft 6 is chiefly pedagogic. The noteworthy philological articles are (1) H. Kluge *Vorhomeriche abbildungen Homerischer kampfscenen*, an attempt to show that Homer must have seen three engraved objects lately discovered at Mycenae. (2) A. Ludwig *Zu Aristonikos*, notes on *ξωτήρ, γναλον, καιρονικόν*. (3) B. Lepsius, a critique of Cavallari's *Appendice alla topografia di Siracusa*. (4) L. Gurkitt *Nochmals der archetypus der Brutusbriefe*, resuming the theory broached in 1885. (5) Rv. Scalा *die haupquelle der röm. königsgeschichte bei Diodorus*, further evidence that D. used Polybius. (6) M. Hertz *Die Eustochius-recension des Gellius*, to the effect that nothing is known of it.

Heft 7 contains (1) A. Raach *Die pseudo-Sibyllinischen Orakel*, a long polemic against Buresch (see Heft 5). (2) W. H. Roscher *Die legende vom tode*

*des grossen Pan*, explaining the legend from Egyptian sources. (3) E. Bischoff *Beiträge zur kennnis griechischer kalender*, dealing with the Thessalian, Perrhaebian and Phthiotic calendars. (4) G. Hubo *Zu Caesar's Rheinbrücke*, discussing the question of the distance between the piles. (5) F. Giesing *Beiträge zur röm. taktik*, discussing Fröhlich's views on the rank and duties of the centurions. (6) M. Kiderlin *Zum IXten u. Xiten buche des Quintilius*, emendations.

Heft 8 and 9 (together) contain (1) J. Oeri *Verschiedenes zu den Trachinierinnen*, notes partly explanatory and partly critical. (2) O. Apelt *Platons Sophistes und die ideenlehre*. (3) E. Hasse *Zur syntax des zahlwörtes δύο*, to the effect that in Attic writers δύο, as gen. or dat., is six times more frequent than the indeclinable δύο, and that δύο is not declined chiefly when it means 'about two.' (4) F. Reuss *Zu Xen. Anabasis*, a long list of supposed interpolations. (5) F. Blass *Mitteilungen aus papyrushandschriften*, notes from personal inspection of the new Brit. Mus. and Petrie papyri. (6) P. Cauer *Aristoteles Urteil über die demokratia*, a comparison of the πολιτεία with the Politics, in support of F. Cauer's contention that the former work is not by Aristotle. (7) H. Duntzer *Des Horatius Canidia-gedichte*, on the personality of Canidia. (8) F. Wilhelm *Zu Tibullus*, a few critical and explanatory notes. (9) W. Allers *Die buchfolge in Senecas naturales quæstiōnes*. (10) W. Schwarz *Eine welthandelstrasse, i.e. the route from Alexandria to India*, as described by Plin. *N.H.* VI. 101—106. (11) C. F. W. Müller *Zum C.I.L.*, very good critical notes.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS.

AMONG the announcements of additions to Teubner's Bibliotheca are Plautus in seven volumes, by Goetz and Schoell (vol. I has appeared, and presents a text far nearer to the mss. than the library edition); Quintilian's institutes by F. Becher; Seneca and Anthologia latina vol. II (from inscriptions), by Bücheler; Cato de re rustica by Keil; Chronica minoria by C. Frick; two almost inaccessible authors Iulii Firmici matheseos libri viii by C. Sittl, and Theodorus Priscianus by a master in the field of ancient medicine, Val. Rose; Claudian by Koch, Maulius by Bechert, Sidonius Apollinaris (editor not named), Sulpicius Severus by J. Fuertner, Symmachus by W. Kroll, Synonyma Ciceronis by J. W. Beck. Among Greek authors Stobaeus by A. Nauck, Anthologia graeca by H. Stadtmauer, the

continuation of Apollonius of Perge and of Euclid by J. L. Heiberg, Cassiani Bassi Geoponica by H. Beckh, Clementis Alexandri excerpta ex Theodo by P. Ruben, Epicteti dissertationes by H. Schenkl, Epistolographi by A. Nanck, Galeni scripta minora by J. Marguardt, Iw. Mueller and G. Helmreich, Hippiatrica by E. Oder, Hippocrates by J. Ilberg and Kuehlewein, Iamblichus de vita Pythagorae by E. Rohde, Joannis Scylitzae hist. comp. by H. Seger, Libanius by R. Foerster, Nemesius by K. J. Burkhardt, Oppiani Halietutica by R. Vari, Oraclea Sibyllina (editor not named), Philo by F. Haussens, Philodemini volumina rhetorica by S. Sudhaus, Porphyrii opusc. iii de antro nympharum by A. Nauck, Ptolemy by Boll, Heiberg, Berger, Scriptores physiognomici by R. Foerster.

## LIST OF NEW BOOKS.

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